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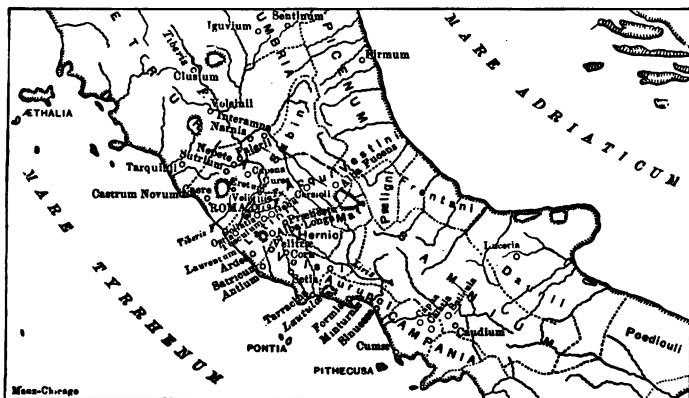
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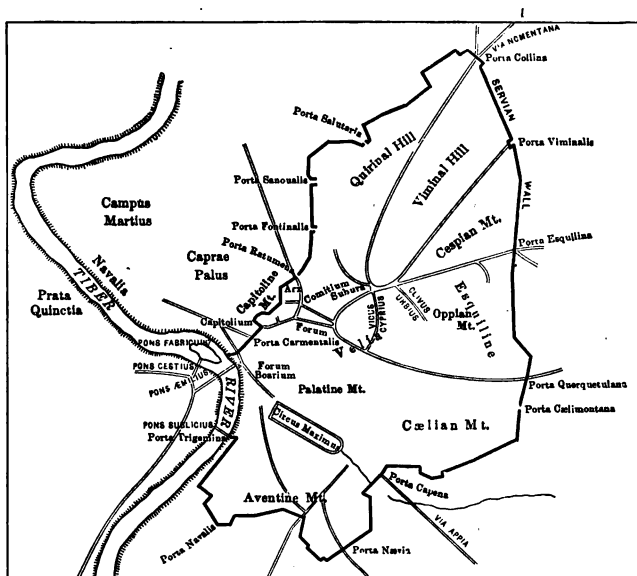
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**L I V Y**

**SELECTIONS FROM THE FIRST DECADE**

**EDITED BY**

**OMERA FLOYD LONG**

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY**

**CHICAGO**

**SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY**

**1908**



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## PREFACE

This edition—*parva sed apta* it is hoped—has taken its present form, as has the companion volume in this series by Professor Bechtel, from a conviction, based on classroom experiments, that it is desirable for students to become acquainted with a wider range of selections from Livy than is represented in the stereotyped three-book edition. Books I, XXI, XXII are themselves only selections, and they possess no special sanctity that should impose their less interesting chapters on a student to the exclusion of other matter which may afford greater variety of interest and better illustrate Livy's mastery of style and his versatility. In the selections offered there has been an aim to preserve the historian's method in well defined units, showing regal and republican administration, the manner of life, and especially through what sort of men the State extended its power as it expanded from a shepherd settlement into a power dominant throughout Italy.

The brief notes are in keeping with a sane reaction against the over-loaded commentary, for American editors in swinging away from the type of edition based on this or that German work have sometimes proved their own erudition at the expense of the student's real needs. The student in his earlier stage, therefore, and not the specialist, has been kept in mind, the object being to stimulate interest and to offer only such help as experience has shown to be practically necessary. To this each teacher will add according to his particular purpose. The great number of Latin grammars now

before the public has led to a brief statement, where it seemed desirable, of the principle involved rather than array a legion of discouraging references.

The text is substantially that of the Weissenborn-M. Müller edition, with the free use, however, of such variant readings or recent emendations as commended themselves. Special indebtedness to the commentaries of Weissenborn-H. J. Müller, M. Müller, Luterbacher, and Cocchia is gladly acknowledged. The editor desires also to own his great obligation to Professor Edward A. Bechtel of Tulane University for many valuable suggestions and practical aid; and to Professor H. W. Johnston of Indiana University, editor-in-chief of the series, for valued aid, generously given both directly and indirectly.

O. F. LONG.

*Northwestern University, November, 1908.*

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## INTRODUCTION

### I. LIVY'S LIFE.

No ancient life of Livy has come down to us, such as we have in the case of Caesar and Vergil, Horace and Terence, nor should the student expect to find direct information, as in the works of such an author as Cicero. A few facts, however, may be gathered from Livy and from external sources. He was born in northern Italy at Patavium (now Padua) in 59 B. C., and is called in full Titus Livius Patavinus. It appears that he was of gentle birth and that he enjoyed in his educational training the best advantages of his day. His work shows intimate acquaintance with Greek authors, such as Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Polybius, while his training in philosophy and more particularly in rhetoric and oratory is an easy inference from his style, even if external evidence were lacking. The bearing of this training, aside from the traditional position of these subjects in the curriculum, may be seen from the ancient aphorism that history is philosophy in the concrete, and from the practical relation of rhetoric as illustrated on every page of Livy's work.

It is significant that Rome's greatest writers were not natives of Rome, but were men who passed through the experience of a more or less provincial youth before being drawn to the metropolis. Livy's native town, however, was not a quiet country village, but a rich flourishing city, although its inhabitants were still simple in their manners and severe in their morals. From such

surroundings Livy no doubt acquired a habit of mind which in part explains his antiquarian tendencies and his primitive faith. It is recorded that C. Asinius Pollio, a prominent contemporary, thought Livy guilty of *Patavinitas*, but it is more likely that this to us indefinite criticism was applied to some peculiarity in his diction, than to the bent of his mind. The citizens of Patavium were granted Roman citizenship in 49 B. C., when Livy was at the impressionable age of ten. In the same year Caesar crossed the Rubicon. Whether from these events he became a sympathizer with Pompey, as Augustus later playfully charged him with being, is uncertain, but it is evident from the general Preface that the civil wars distressed him, and throughout he is, as a *laudator temporis acti*, a republican in feeling and expression.

How long Livy remained at Patavium before finally taking up residence in Rome is a matter of conjecture. He was in Rome at any rate shortly after the battle of Actium, 31 B. C., and it is known that the first book of his history was written there before 25 B. C. He seems to have won speedy recognition of his merits and was a familiar in the distinguished coterie of literary men whom Augustus honorably encouraged. There is no record that Livy was a man of affairs, and apparently most of his life was devoted to his great literary work. So great was his renown, even in his own day, that according to the well known story a Spaniard came all the way to Rome that he might but catch a glimpse of him, and after accomplishing this he at once returned home—a story which moved Petrarch to exclaim that he would have come from India to see so great a man.

Of Livy's immediate family, two children, a son and a daughter, are mentioned. Of these we merely know

that the son had some ability as a writer, and that the daughter was the wife of a certain rhetorician, L. Magius.

Shortly after the death of Augustus (14 A. D.), when affairs at Rome began to grow worse under Tiberius, Livy probably retired again to Patavium where his independent spirit and republican sympathies subjected him to less annoyance, if not less actual danger. Here he died in 17 A. D., at the age of seventy-six. In the early part of the fifteenth century there was great excitement throughout Europe over the discovery of the supposed remains of the historian, but there was insufficient evidence to establish their identity. A persistent belief, however, in their genuineness led his patriotic countrymen more than a century later, in 1547 A. D., to erect a mausoleum in Livy's honor, and to place upon it an inscription recounting the lasting honor brought to Padua by her distinguished son, who was "*historicorum Latini nominis facile princeps.*"

## II. TITLE AND SCOPE OF HIS WORKS

Earlier works of Livy were Philosophical Dialogues, and a book of Rhetorical *Præcepta* dedicated to his son. These were probably not extensive works, and no fragments remain to show their exact character.

The History of Rome, called *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* according to the best manuscript tradition, was Livy's great work. Earlier historians had in many cases called their works *Annales*, from the method of arrangement, and Livy once (43. 13. 2) uses the same title, *in meos annales*, but it is used in a somewhat conventional sense, in a context which refers to the *annales* of his predecessors.

The scope of Livy's work is implied in the statement of the Preface, that while the writer is dealing with the founding of the state and its earlier history the reader in some instances, will be eager to hasten to



contemporary events. That Livy planned to bring his narrative down to some particular event, as for example the death of Augustus, is mere speculation, not well supported in the case mentioned by either testimony or probability. As a matter of fact, he completed one hundred and forty-two books, which treated events only as far as 9 B. C. Books I-V cover the period from the founding of the city to its destruction by the Gauls (390 B.C.). Book VI begins with a special preface referring to the scanty records for the first period, with assurances that better sources are available for the succeeding portions. The distribution of material for the remaining books was as follows:

Books XVI-XX, the first Punic war.

XXI-XXX, the second Punic war.

XXXI-XL, the Macedonian wars.

XLI-LXX, to the outbreak of the Social wars.

LXXI-LXXX, to the death of Marius.

LXXXI-XC, to the death of Sulla.

XCI-CVIII, war with Sertorius; Caesar's Gallic wars.

CIX-CXVI, Civil wars to the death of Caesar.

CXVII-CXXXIII, to the conquest of Antony and Cleopatra.

CXXXIV-CXLII, to the death of Drusus, 9 B.C.

As far as book XC the divisions fall rather naturally into groups of five or ten books each, and the various special prefaces, as for example at VI, XXI, and XXXI would indicate that the work was published thus in sections. Grammarians at a later period gave to such groups of ten books the name *Decade*, a term used wholly without reference to time, as in our modern use.

Such a voluminous work as Livy's soon became a burden to the degenerate taste of the Empire, and it could have passed through the barbarities of the Middle

Ages only by rare good fortune. Only thirty-five books, I-X, XXI-XLV, have reached us. Less than a century after Livy's death the poet Martial lightly complains that his library does not afford room for so large a work: *Livius ingens, quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit* (XIV, 190). Complete copies, however, were extant at the beginning of the fifth century of our era, and apparently for a century or two later; but as early as the first half of the first century an abridgment, or *Epitome*, was made for convenience, and from this *Epitome*, but made at a much later date, we have outlines, or *Periochae*, giving brief summaries of the contents of each book. From these *Periochae*, which exist for all books, except the 136th and 137th, we learn the scope of the whole work, and see how inestimably valuable it would be should research ever bring the lost portions to light. The character of the *Periochae* and some hint of the interest of lost books may be seen from the following:

*Periocha Lib. XVI.* Origo Carthaginiensium et primordia urbis eorum referuntur. Contra quos et Hieronem, regem Syracusanorum, auxilium Mamertinis ferendum senatus censuit, cum de ea re inter suadentes, ut id fieret, dissuadentesque contentio fuisset; transgressisque tunc primum mare exercitibus Romanis adversus Hieronem saepius bene pugnatum. Petenti pax data est. Lustrum a censoribus conditum; censa sunt civium capita ducenta octoginta duo milia ducenta triginta quattuor. D. Iunius Brutus munus gladiatorium in honorem defuncti patris primus edidit. Colonia Aesernia deducta est. Res praeterea contra Poenos et Vulsinius prospere gestas continet.

### III. EARLIER HISTORIES OF ROME; LIVY'S SOURCES

Roman literature was late in its development, and it was but natural that History, giving an account of

what the nation had already achieved, should be conspicuous in their earliest productions. The first works conceived in a national spirit were epic poems, the *Bellum Poenicum* of Naevius and the *Annales* of Ennius, and in each of these, as the names would imply, the historical element strongly predominated. The first history in prose was the *Annales* of Q. Fabius Pictor, a writer whom Livy calls *scriptorum antiquissimus*. His work, written in Greek because in his day no adequate Latin prose had been developed, covered the history of Rome from its founding until the close of the second Punic war. Livy deservedly esteemed Pictor as a worthy authority (cf. 22. 7. 4.). The title *Annales* was commonly used by earlier historians, and suggests that their sources were in part the annual records kept by the various sacred colleges, such as those of the augurs and the pontiffs. The records of the pontiffs were themselves called *annales maximi*. History based upon these sources and arranged by years must obviously have been meager in style, however trustworthy as to fact. Contemporary events were naturally treated with greater fullness, as in Pictor's account of the second Punic war, in which he himself had fought. Other Annalists writing in Greek were L. Cincius Alimentus and C. Acilius; both of whose works Livy knew and used either directly or indirectly.

The first historian to use Latin prose was Cato the Elder. His *Origines*, to which Cicero, *de Sen.* 38, makes him refer with some pride, gave the early history of Rome and of other Italian cities as well and there was added a history of the first and second Punic wars. Cato departed somewhat from the annalistic treatment, particularly in that he inserted speeches in his narrative. Many subsequent historians, however, went back to the title of *Annales*, as in the case of L. Cassius Hemina,

L. Calpurnius Piso, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias, C. Licinius Macer, Q. Aelius Tubero, and Cn. Gellius. With the exception of Quadrigarius, who began with the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C., each of these writers began with the earliest period; Hemina concluded his brief work of four books with the second Punic war, while the others brought their work down to contemporary events. None of these histories has come down to us, but ancient critics represent them as varying much in style, and in the industry and trustworthiness of their authors. Piso is used frequently by Livy in books I and II, but there could have been little in common between the warmth of Livy's narrative and the severe simplicity of Piso's style. While he is mentioned by name six times, he is nowhere spoken of with any enthusiasm. To Quadrigarius and Antias, to Macer and Tubero, Livy was likewise indebted for material in the first decade. Macer is expressly mentioned seven times, but only in the first decade. The author whom Livy quotes most frequently throughout his work is Antias. His name appears thirty-six times, often in slighting references after Livy reaches periods where he is able to detect the apparently willful fabrications in which the work of Antias abounded. In many instances these various authors are cited only to be rejected, and for this reason we can not tell definitely what source Livy follows when he has silently accepted statements as facts.

These in the main were Livy's literary sources in the first decade, though not all of these were used directly, and none of them was used consistently throughout any portion of his work. The extent to which he was dependent upon a more or less fluid tradition for the earlier periods, where imagination, an indispensable gift for any historian, has often rounded out the narrative,

may be seen from his use of such words as *traditur*, *ferunt*, *dicitur*, *constat*, etc. A list of such expressions shows that they are three times as frequent in the first ten books as in any later decade.

Besides literary sources and tradition there was a certain amount of such material as a modern historian would consider indispensable. There were various records, such as the *annales maximi* kept by the *pontifices* from the fifth century on; the *libri lintei*, or lists of magistrates placed in the temple of Juno Moneta; the *fasti*, or calendar, with its notation of events; copies of treaties and laws; and especially the lists of consuls (*fasti consulares*), censors, dictators and their masters of horse; the triumphs, and the Secular Games from a very early period down to Livy's own day—all graven upon the marble of the outer walls of the *Regia* (the home of the *pontifex*), and now called *fasti Capitolini* from their being preserved on the Capitoline hill. To what extent Livy made direct use of such material is problematical. His reference in the preface of book VI to the loss of such material in the destruction of the city by the Gauls would indicate his appreciation of its value, but he can often be convicted of neglecting the records that were undoubtedly available.

#### IV. METHOD AND PURPOSE

It has long since been recognized that Livy's history is not to be judged by the standards which the modern historian sets for himself. The modern historian is critical, seeking primarily accuracy in details and giving his reader the philosophy of events. Considerations of style are important but wholly secondary. Livy's history, on the other hand, must be judged primarily as a work of art, conscientiously executed by the standards of the author's own day, when the achievements of men

or of a nation was in effect merely a story to be told. This was still in the next century the conception of so great an authority as Quintilian: *Est (sc. historia) proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum, et scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum* (10. 1. 31). The three factors which entered most powerfully into the style of such a production were formal training, the tendencies of the period, and the individual temperament of the writer. The formal rhetorical training of the Roman, particularly after the full influence of Grecian culture, is in evidence everywhere in their literature, and to neglect it is to fail to get the Roman point of view.

The justification for a new history, according to Livy (Praef. 2), is to be found in the ability of the historian to contribute something more authentic in subject matter, or at least to excel predecessors in style of composition. That his own work was not simply for the reader's entertainment is expressly stated (9. 17. 1). The wholesome tone of his general Preface shows both his integrity of purpose and his sound judgment as to the poetic character of early traditions; and he adds, *haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine* (Praef. 8). Livy was far from indifferent as to whether his statements were true, but where it was futile to attempt to sift the evidence he frankly recognizes the situation: *cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret* (7. 6. 6). Alleged history he more than once brands as *fabulae* (1. 11. 8; 5. 21. 8); a myth is sometimes rationalized (1. 8. 5). Where his sources were obviously wrong, he attempts corrections (1. 18. 3; 1. 55. 8); between two versions he may allow probability to determine his choice (21. 28. 6); or again where his sources are at variance especially on points of great antiquity he naively follows the majority—a method which at

least has the merit of not trying to make a thinly disguised personal opinion pass for authentic history (1. 24. 1; 46. 4; 6. 42. 6). His very citation of variations is evidence of honest endeavor to arrive at the truth. In some instances his great patriotism carries him to excesses in accepting a version more favorable to Rome (7. 27. 9); or he may dwell upon the picturesque or upon the more impressive event (7. 29; 9. 2. 7 ff.), but in no case does a discreditable personal motive appear; and Livy's declaration (*Praef.* 5) that no influence or sense of danger could cause him to deviate from the path of truth, is in striking contrast with Cicero's appeal to his friend the historian Lucceius "to stretch the truth a bit" in his favor (*ad Fam.* 5. 12. 3).

Much interest in the early Roman history has been aroused by excavations in recent years and by the identification of many monuments to which historians of the early period refer. How much belief the modern reader may give to these traditions can not be discussed here, but to the Romans even of the sophisticated classical times the story of the origin of Rome, of the events that followed in the evolution of the state, the manner of men upon whom the state had safely rested for its greatness, all furnished reading of the keenest interest.

#### V. STYLE AND SYNTAX

Livy deservedly ranks as a writer of consummate skill. Writing in the Augustan age which was nearly exclusively an age of poetry, he produced an almost perfect prose style. In it, especially in the earlier books, poetry is not wholly divorced from prose, and withal there is such a sympathetic treatment of every theme, such a clever adaptation of language to suit every situation, that it is small wonder that as a stylist he has aroused the greatest admiration in every age. To

Quintilian he was a writer of wonderful eloquence, *mirae facundiae* (8. 1. 3), whom he further characterizes as follows: *cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris tum in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem; ita quae dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata sunt* (10. 1. 101); to Seneca he was *dissertissimus* (de Ira 1. 20. 6); to Tacitus he was *eloquentissimus* (Agric. 10), and *eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis* (Ann. 4. 34).

The eloquence of his style is secured by smooth, flowing periods which show striking skill in the effectiveness of their word order. There is no monotony of lengthy sentence, for Livy's vivid imagination soon quickens every situation into lively action which the reader seems actually to see. Not the least important means for this effect is seen in the finished speeches interspersed in the work. These and the personal incidents so graphically told give to the work now, as they did in ancient times, one of its greatest charms, the element of human interest.

Livy's diction represents the tendency of his age to vary from the more strict norms of Ciceronian prose. Poetic expressions are more frequent, rhetoric is somewhat more in evidence, and many new usages, or bold advances in older usage, are found. In syntax the following characteristics, as seen in the selections of this edition, may be noted:

1. NOUNS. a. The genitive as a predicate possessive is freely used: *operae*, Praef. 1; *tutela*, 1. 6. 4; *potestatis*, 7. 31. 6. b. The dative (1) of reference is very much extended and is often practically the equivalent of a poss. gen.: *raptis*, 1. 9. 14; 10. 1; *flectenti*, 1. 48. 6; *Samnitibus*, 7. 33. 6. (2) of purpose, or final dative, is very frequent: *crimini dabant*, 1. 5. 4; *praedae*, 3. 29. 2; *cordi*, 9. 1. 4. With *esse* it is often = a passive voice:



*divisui fuere*, 1. 54. 9. c. The ablative (1) may be used for duration of time: *quibus (annis) Alba steterat*, 1. 29. 6; cf. 9. 3. 10. (2) Several ablatives are sometimes heaped together in different, or interdependent constructions: *adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis* (and as a result) *favore* (cause) *multorum addito animo*, 1. 12. 10; cf. 1. 34. 11; 7. 32. 1.

2. ADJECTIVES. a. Freely used as substantives: *proxima*, Praef. 4; *hostilia*, 1. 59. 4; *immensum*, 5. 37. 5; *iusto*, 9. 17. 1. b. As substantive especially in prepositional phrases: *ex infimo*, 1. 9. 3; *in tuto*, 3. 45. 9; *ex aequo*, 7. 30. 2. c. The proper adjective is often used as a collective noun: *Romanus*, 1. 29. 6; 9. 2. 5; *Samnis*, 7. 33. 15; 9. 4. 4. d. An adjective is frequently equivalent to a noun in the genitive: *puerilem*, 1. 4. 6; *civilem*, 3. 28. 4; *Quinctiano*, 3. 28. 8. e. Verbal adjectives in *-bundus* are frequent, though not ordinarily used in the best prose: *venerabundus*, 1. 16. 6; *errabundi*, 1. 29. 3; *deliberabundus*, 1. 54. 6; cf. 3. 46. 8; 47. 3; 7. 33. 18; 9. 17. 17.

3. PREPOSITIONS. a. *Ab* (1) causal, rare before Livy, is extended: *ab honore*, 1. 8. 7; *ab secundis rebus*, 5. 44. 6; *ab memoria*, 5. 47. 11. (2) *Ab* is freely used with names of cities: *ab Tarquiniis*, 1. 34. 5; *ab Ardea*, 5. 46. 7. b. *Ad*, causal: *ad haec*, 2. 23. 7; *ad strepitus*, 5. 47. 3; *ad terrorem*, 9. 2. 5. c. *Circa* = *circum*, 1. 9. 2; 7. 33. 13; = *utrimque*, 1. 4. 6; 9. 2. 7. d. *De* or *ex*, frequent with substantive words to form adjective or adverbial phrases: *ex industria*, 1. 9. 6; *de integro*, 1. 19. 1; *ex insperato*, 1. 25. 9; *de plebe*, 5. 32. 6. e. *In* (1) final, i.e. expressing tendency or purpose, is extended: *in spem*, 1. 8. 4; *in vanos tumultus*, 5. 37. 8. (2) *In* is frequently omitted with the abl., as often in poetry: *sede sedens*, 1. 41. 6; *medio aedium*, 5. 41. 2. f. *Inter*, in a temporal sense: *inter tumultum*, 1. 6. 1; *inter accipiendum aurum*, 9. 11. 6.

*g. Ob*, frequent for inner motive, or where *propter* is more common: *ob iram*, 1. 5. 3; *ob aes alienum*, 2. 23, 1. *h. Per*, freely used to form phrases that are often to be rendered as adverbs: *per luxum atque libidinem*, Praef. 12; *per licentiam*, 1. 48. 2; *per vim*, 1. 57. 10.

4. VERBS. *a.* The forms of *esse* are often omitted in the passive: *appellati (sunt)*, 1. 8. 7; *interfectum (esse)*, 1. 7. 2; *creati (sunt)*, 2. 33. 2. *b.* The perf. indic., 3rd plur., often occurs in *ere*, especially in the 1st decade: *tenuere*, 1. 12. 1; *restitere*, 1. 12. 7; *venere*, 3. 38. 1. *c.* The pluperf. passive formed with *fuera*m is frequent, as in later Latin: *edictum fuerat*, 1. 29. 6; *dediti fuerant*, 3. 35. 5; *palati fuerant*, 5. 46. 4. *d.* The frequentative formation is common: *fluitantem*, 1. 4. 6; *dictitans*, 1. 6. 1; *venditare*, 3. 35. 5. *e.* The imperf. indic. with *postquam* is more common than in Cicero: *postquam stabant*, 1. 23. 6; *postquam videbat*, 1. 54. 5. *f.* The perf. subjunctive is frequent in illogical sequence, to state a resulting historical fact: *abstulerit*, 1. 16. 1; *decreverit*, 3. 29. 3; *certaverint*, 7. 32. 7. *g.* The iterative subjunctive, expressing a repeated action, first becomes fairly common in Livy: *vellet*, 1. 47. 12; *appellasset*, 3. 36. 8; *avertisset*, 5. 42. 4; cf. 47. 2; 48. 2; 9. 6. 2; 19; 8. *h.* The historical infinitive is common: *subsistere*, 1. 4. 9; *dirimere*, 1. 13. 2; *captare*, 3. 37. 1; it is even found (as in Sallust) in *cum* clauses: *cum . . . fieri*, 3. 37. 5. *i.* There is a very much extended use of the gerund as a modal abl. = pres. partic., a usage found largely in poetry before (cf. *Quis talia fando*, Aen. 2. 6): *venando*, 1. 4. 8; *comparando*, 1. 5. 6; *petendo*, 3. 35. 4. *j.* The participle (1) is frequent as the equivalent of an adjectival clause: *ab irato Romulo*, 1. 7. 2; *coeptam magnitudinem*, 1. 8. 6; *agros ante cultos*, 5. 33. 2. (2) is often used as a substantive: *legentium*, Praef. 4; *condentium*, 1. 8. 5; *degeneratum*, 1. 53. 1; *facta*, 3. 47. 2. (3) The future is used

to express, besides simple futurity, intention, likelihood, destiny: *futurae*, Praef. 12; *visuri*, 1. 29. 3; *nec flexuros animos*, 5. 43. 1; *violatura*, 7. 31. 2. (4) With a noun the participle is often the equivalent of an abstract noun with a dependent (usually genitive) case: *ob iram praedae amissae*, 1. 5. 3; *diremptae pacis*, 9. 8. 12; *ducta Tanaquil*, 1. 34. 4; *ex foedere rupto*, 9. 1. 3. (5) The partic. often stands alone, a pronoun being supplied, in the abl. abs.: *revocantibus*, 2. 10. 7; *sciscitantibus*. 2. 23. 5, *digredientibus*, 5. 40. 2.

5. PARTICLES. The following are worthy of note: *Ceterum*=*sed*, Praef. 11; 1. 48. 8; 5. 47. 8. *Inde*, or *unde*,=*ex* with abl., 1. 47. 12; 2. 32. 8; 7. 29. 6. *Neque*=*neve*, 3. 44. 5. *Nec*=*et non*, 3. 49. 8; 5. 46. 4; 9. 3. 9.

6. VARIETY OF EXPRESSION is often sought by a change of word or construction: *seu ita rata, seu quia deus . . . honestior erat*, 1. 4. 2; *sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet*, 1. 4. 3; *alii . . . putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus . . . placet*, 1. 8. 3.

7. ARCHAIC AND POETIC EXPRESSIONS. These naturally occur more freely in the 1st decade: *Palatio*=*Palatino*, 1. 5. 1; *amnis*, 1. 4. 4; *tempestatibus*, 1. 5. 2; *sospitet*, 1. 16. 3; *infit*, 1. 23. 7; *quaerentibus ratio initur*, 1. 23. 10; *suopte*, 1. 25. 1; *miris modis*, 1. 57. 6; *aperire viam*, 7. 33. 9; *quandoque*, 9. 10. 9.

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### PRAEFATIO.

- 1 Facturusne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si
- 2 sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte
- 3 rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcumque erit,

*In this general Preface Livy sets forth his object from a patriotic and from a personal point of view in writing a general history (si a primordio . . . perscripserim) of Rome. No state was ever greater, none richer in the illustrious deeds of its men; greed and corruption entered it late. The writer, turning for the time from the evils of his own day, will first treat, carefree, the poetic legends and memorable deeds of those earlier ages. For the reader, there will be that wholesome and profitable result that comes from all study of history—guidance to the best and a warning against the worst, both for the individual and his state.*

1. **Facturusne . . . sim:** ind. quest. after *nec satis scio*. Livy modestly does not know whether the results will be commensurate with his effort. Many Latin sentences end met-

rically, but this begins with four feet of a hexameter. **operae:** poss. gen.; with *pretium*, "worth the while." **si sciam:** *sciam* in a possible fut. condition, instead of the more natural contrary to fact, as in Cicero's letters, Fam. 8. 9. 1; 15. 1. **ausim:** archaic for *ausus sim*.

2. **quippe qui:** either *quippe*, or *ut* (cf. 4 below), often introduces a causal relative clause in Livy. **novi semper scriptores:** "new historians, constantly arising." **scribendi arte:** "style of composition," contrasted with *in rebus*, "subject matter."

3. **memoriae:** dat. with *consultuisse*. It separates the rather awkward group of genitives. **pro virili parte:** "to the best of my ability." **et ipsum:** "myself as well" as the *novi scriptores*; *et* is frequently so used with *ipse* in Livy, pointing to other actions or persons. **officient:** the indic. is modestly kept.

iuuabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini officient  
 4 meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam  
 5 pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt; ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.  
 6 Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere  
 7 in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui

4. **res**: with *quae* . . . *repetatur*, the state as "the subject" of the undertaking; with *quae* . . . *creverit* = *res publica* **eo**: = *adeo*. **proxima**: used substantively, as are *nova* and *prisca* below. See *Introd.* V. 2. a. **haec nova**: events of Livy's own day, especially the civil wars. **se ipsae conficiunt**: with *iam pridem* = "have been working their own ruin." The intensive pronoun, though strengthening the reflexive in such a combination, agrees regularly with the subject.

5. **ut** . . . **avertam**: in appos. with *praemium*. **quae** . . . **posset**: apodosis of an implied *si haec nova scriberet, itaque non expers curae esset*. The frequent rancor of our own civil war discussions aptly illustrates the point.

6. **condendamve**: i.e. before its founding was even planned. **fabulis**: dat. with *decora*. **ea**: resuming *quae*.

7. **humana**, etc.: see on *proxima* (4). **ea**: = *talis*. **potissimum ferat**: "claims in preference to all others."

parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium patiuntur.

- 8 Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam dis-  
 9 crimine; ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia  
 10 nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites.
- 11 Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctor nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat.
- 12 Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique

9. *ad illa*: *ille*, especially in the neut., often refers to what follows; here to the indir. questions. *mihi*: ethical dat.; "I would have each person." *labente* . . . *perventum est*: the metaphor. which shows three stages of a building that goes to ruin, is dropped at *donec*.

10. *documenta*: "lessons for guidance" (= *quae docent*). *capias*: the indef. second person: "one may take note of."

11. *Ceterum*: = *sed*. See Introd. V. 5. *in quam civitatem*: = *civitas*, in *quam*. *serae*: adj. for adv., while *diu* below is the reverse. *immigraverint* . . . *fuerit*: subjunctive in characterizing clauses; the perfect for vividness. *rerum*: "property."

12. *per luxum atque libidinem*: "in wealth and wantonness," *pereundi perdendique omnia*: an apparent desire "of

omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe  
 13 tantae ordiendae rei absint; cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

going to ruin and of ruining all beside;" oxymoron (contradictory ideas) and paronomasia (similar sounds). **futurae**: see Introd. V. 4. j. (3).

**13. orsis**: sc. *nobis*. **tantum operis**: = *tantum opus*. **darent**: illogical for *dant*, because attracted by *inciperemus*.

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER I.

- 1 IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis  
maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium.
- 2 Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset,  
seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat,
- 3 Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii  
nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia  
vindican; sacerdos vineta in custodiam datur, pueros
- 4 in profluentem aquam mitti iubet. Forte quadam divin-  
itus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri  
usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis

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#### IV-VII. 3. VIII. THE BIRTH OF ROMULUS AND REMUS; FOUNDING OF ROME.

*After taking up briefly the coming of Aeneas to Italy, Livy refers to the founding of ancient Lavinium and Alba Longa, following the latter account by a list of Alban kings. Finally Numitor Silvius inherits the throne, but is banished by his brother, Amulius, who slays the king's sons and makes the daughter, Rea Silvia, a vestal virgin. This is done ostensibly to honor her, but in reality that there may be no hope of succession to the throne from Numitor's family. The Fates, however, determined the matter.*

IV, 1. *debebatur*: with both

*origo* and *principium*. *secundum*: prep., "next after."

2. *Vi compressa*: "after being overcome by force." *Vestalis*: Rea Silvia. *rata* . . . *quia erat*: it is characteristic of Livy to seek variety even in simple constructions. See Introd. V. 6. *honestior*: "more creditable." *incertae*: euphemistic for *spuriae*.

3. *regia*: = *regis*, i.e. Amulius. *sacerdos*: the use of the title emphasizes her guilt. *iubet*: sc. *rex*.

4. *Forte quadam divinitus*: i.e. the gods directed a thing which was apparently accidental. Cf. 5. 49. 1. *effusus*: translate by a rel. clause. This condition of the stream is the basis of the two statements that follow. *iusti*: "regular, proper."



- languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat.
- 5 Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima eluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est — Romularem vocatam ferunt
- 6 —, pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam submissas infantibus adeo mitem praeuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros
- 7 magister regii pecoris invenerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt —; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt, qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.
- 8 Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando
- 9 peragrarare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto, iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta

**annis:** poetic for *flumen*. **quamvis languida:** "however still," i.e. *lenibus stagnis*. **infantes:** subj. of *posse*, and suggesting the obj. of *ferentibus*.

**5. velut defuncti:** = *rati ita se defunctos*. **nunc ficus Ruminalis:** not the tree, but traces of it in Livy's day were on the slope of the Palatine opposite the Capitoline. It was probably sacred to *Rumina*, goddess of suckling (*ruma* = *mamma*), because here the young of the flocks often fed. A popular legend then changed its name.

**6. Vastae:** Eng. *vast* was originally "waste," the sense here. **fluitantem:** note the picture given by the frequentative. **circa:** strictly = *utrimque*. **puerilem:** see *Introductio*. **V. 2. d. submissas . . . mammas:** "lowered herself so gently to the children for nursing."

**7. Faustulo:** attracted to *ei*, poss. dat., understood. The root idea in the name is "favorer" (*favere*). **ad stabula . . . datos:** i.e. taken to the folds and given. **qui . . . putent:** a characterizing clause. The story was thus rationalized, since Lupa was a nickname for such a debased character. **Acca Larentia**, however, was given an honorable place in Roman worship. **fabulae ac miraculo:** "for the marvellous story;" hendiadys.

**8. adolevit aetas:** "their age ripened into manhood." Cf. *Verg. Aen.* 12. 438. **segnes:** concessive. **venando:** abl. of manner. See *Introductio*. **V. 4. i. peragrarare:** the hist. infin. is seldom found singly; note those that follow.

**9. seria ac locos celebrare:** "they joined in their serious encounters and their sports."

dividere, et cum his, crescente in dies grege iuvenum, seria ac iocos celebrare.

- 1 V. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium,
- 2 dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeam Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam current, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt
- 3 Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi
- 4 Amulio tradidisse ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur.
- 5 Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per
- 6 occasionem aut per necessitatem aperire noluerat. Necessitas prior venit; ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit.

V. 1. **Palatio:** = *Palatino*. **Lupercal hoc ludicrum:** "this festival of ours, the Lupercal." It was a festival of purification (*februare*) held Feb. 15, and giving to the month its name. **a Pallanteo:** a superficial derivation. The hill was probably the feeding ground (cf. *pascere*) of the shepherds, who had a deity called *Pales*.

2. **eo genere:** = *ea gente*, i.e. Pallanteum. **tempestatibus:** poetic, "seasons, generations." **sollemne:** "custom;" it is followed by an *ut* explanatory clause. **Pana venerantes:** "in their worship of Pan;" Livy then adds the *quem* clause on his own authority as the

indic. mode shows.

3. **deditis:** sc. *pastoribus*; construe with *insidiatos*. **ob:** = *propter*. See Introd. V. 3. **g. praedae amissae:** obj. gen., "at the loss of their booty." See Introd. V. 4. **j. (4). cepisse, captum:** the repetition of a verb in ptp. form is called *epiplace*; often as here haste is indicated. **ultro:** emphatic, "actually," i.e. beyond what one would expect.

4. **Crimini:** dat. of purpose; with *dabant*, "they charged." See Introd. V. 1. b. (2).

6. **Numitori:** dat. of reference with the whole clause, a more delicate construction than *Numitoris animus* would be. See Introd. V. 1. b. (1).

Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret.

- 7 Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad vim apertam par —, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

- 1 VI. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius  
2 auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

- 3 Ita Numitori Albana re permissa, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam

**eodem:** "the same conclusion," as Faustus (5). **sciscitandoque:** see on *fluitantem*. 4. 6. **esset:** = *abesset*, with the *quin* clause as subject.

7. **dolus nectitur:** "the meshes are closing upon." **ad regem:** = *in regem*.

VI. 1. **inter:** "during." The periodic sentence that follows should

be divided in translation, since English does not allow so many subordinate constructions. **gratulantes:** "with congratulations."

2. **agmine:** abl. of manner; translate with *ingressi*, "came marching in." **ratum . . . efficit:** "confirmed."

3. **ad id . . . accesserant:** "in addition (to this excess of popula-

Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe, quae conde-  
 4 retur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum  
 malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen,  
 coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent  
 nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii,  
 quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui  
 nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret,  
 Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inauguran-  
 dum templa capiunt.

- 1 VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vul-  
 tures, iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus  
 Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo  
 consalutaverat; tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium
- 2 regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi  
 certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba  
 ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatio fama est ludibrio fratris  
 Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo,  
 cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset 'sic deinde,  
 quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea', interfectum.
- 3 Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs con-  
 ditoris nomine appellata.

tion) there were." **qui**: = *ut ii*,  
 introducing a result clause. **par-  
 vam . . . parvum**: anaphora.

4. **avitum malum**: "the mis-  
 fortune their grandfather had suf-  
 fered" was due to the same cause.  
**essent . . . posset**: indirect thought.  
**ut . . . legerent**: expressing pur-  
 pose after *capiunt*. **tutelae**: pred.  
 poss. See Introd. V. 1. a. **qui**: strict-  
 ly = *uter*, "which of the two." **tem-  
 pla**: referring to *Palatium* and *Aven-  
 tinum*. Etymologically *templum* sig-  
 nifies a place "cut off" or "set  
 apart" (*τέμνω*); the word was then  
 applied to the building on the kind  
 of place most usually set apart.

VII. 1. **Priori**: emphatic. **u-  
 trumque . . . consalutaverat**:

translate the position and the tense:  
 "each was forthwith saluted."  
**avium**: with *tempore praecepto*, the  
 earlier time, as well as with *numero*.  
**trahebant**: sc. *ad se*; "claimed."

2. **certamine**: causal. **vertun-  
 tur**: with middle force, "turn  
 (themselves)." **irato**: = *qui iratus  
 esset*. **sic**: sc. *pereat*.

3. **Palatium primum**: the settle-  
 ment upon this hill was undoubtedly  
 the earliest at Rome. Traces of a  
 very early wall, though not so early  
 as of the regal period, are yet visi-  
 ble; but recent excavations on the  
 hill point to a settlement long  
 prior to 753 B.C. **aliis**: = *ceteris*,  
 anticipating the dat. *Herculi*. Note  
 the chiasmus. **Graeco**: sc. *ritu*.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euanthro instituta erant, facit.

- 1 VIII. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit;
- 2 quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus
- 3 duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.
- 4 Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia adpetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis
- 5 quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis

**Herculi:** one of his twelve labors was to drive off Geryon's cattle from Spain. After reaching the Tiber on his return, Hercules, while sleeping, was robbed of the best cattle by the monster Cacus. Hercules slew Cacus (cf. Aen. 8. 193 ff.). and the local ruler, Evander (5. 2), discovered his identity and dedicated an altar to him, with Greek observances in the *sacra*.

VIII. 1. **rite:** "in due form."

2. **ita . . . si:** "only—if," a common restriction in Livy. **se ipse:** see on Praef. 2. **fecisset:** fut. perf. from the past point of view. **habitu:** "equipment;" abl. of specification.

3. **eum:** with *numerum*, supplying *Romulum* as obj. of *secutum*

(*esse*). The emphasis is on explaining this number. **sententiae:** pred. poss. **quibus . . . placet:** = *qui putant*. **apparitores:** sc. *ductos esse* from *ductum* below. **hoc genus:** "of this kind;" adv. acc. **ita:** i.e. had twelve, as explained in the *quod* clause, referring to the early Etruscan league.

4. **cum . . . munirent:** causal. **in spem:** the so-called final use of *in*. See Introd. V. 3. e. (1). **ad id, quod:** the neut. followed by a partitive gen. emphasizes the slight population of that day.

5. **vetere consilio:** "following an old device." **condentium:** see Introd. V. 4. j. (2). **conciendo:** see on *venando*, 4. 8. **natam,** etc.: this

- causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendantibus inter duos lucos est, asyllum
- 6 aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.
- 1 IX. Iam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia

is an evidence of the tendency, introduced by the philosopher Euhe-  
merus, to rationalize such myths as the story of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth. **qui...est**: "which now is the enclosure between the two groves as you go down the hill." The site of the retreat was between the two spurs of the Capitoline, and therefore apart from the houses of the Palatine (7. 3). **descendentibus**: the dat. of reference when expressing local relations is usually plural.

6. **id**: referring to *turba*, but attracted to the idea in the partitive gen. *roboris*. **ad**: i.e. "in the direction of." **coeptam**: see Introd. V. 4. j. (1). **consilium**: meaning "guidance" as embodied in his advisory senate.

7. **soli centum**: according to tradition only the heads of the hundred *gentes* were chosen. **certe**: frequently used by Livy after reaching surer ground; cf. *certe, id quod*

*satis constat*, 48. 5. **ab honore**: "because of the political distinction." See Introd. V. 3. a. (1).

#### IX-XIII. SEIZURE OF THE SABINE WOMEN.

*The earliest outside influence upon the Roman settlement seems to have come from the nearby Sabines. To what extent the state was indebted for Sabine institutions cannot be determined, but the myth of the seizure of the Sabine women, explaining as it does, the form of bride seizure in the Roman wedding and the nuptial cry "Talassio," may well illustrate Roman consciousness of their indebtedness in one particular.*

IX. 1. **penuria**: "owing to the small number." **quippe**: see on Praef. 2. **quibus**: poss. dat. in the causal clause. Cf. 1. 5. The plur. is a sense agreement with *res*

- 2 essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa  
vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem conubiumque novo  
3 populo peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo  
nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes  
4 sibi magnumque nomen facere; satis scire origini  
Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem;  
proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sangui-  
5 nem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita  
est; adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio cres-  
centem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A ple-  
risque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque  
asylum aperuissent; id enim demum compar conu-  
bium fore.
- 6 Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad  
vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum  
ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos  
ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnis; Con-  
7 sualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet,  
quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, con-

*Romana. conubia*: the right of intermarriage with neighbors was subject to agreement by treaty.

2. *circa*: = *circum*.

3. *urbes . . . nasci*: sc. *dixerunt*. Observe the rhetorical structure of the plea; a general premise, a particular one, the special application, the conclusion. *ex infimo*: "from a small beginning." See *Introd. V. 2. b. quas*: sc. *urbes*. Rhetorically *ea*s should follow as the subject of *facere*.

4. *satis scire*: sc. *se*: "they knew full well." The application is made in the reverse (chiastic) order of the words in the *quas . . . iuvent* clause. *proinde*: often used with a subjunctive or an imperative at the end of a speech in giving the conclusion. *ne gravarentur*: a prohibition. *homines cum homini-*

*bus*: note the rhetorical effect to show that the plea was on a humanity basis.

5. *spernebant*: "did they reject;" the subject is *finitimi*. *A plerisque rogitantibus*: "by many with the question." *ecquod*: indef. interrog. with *asylum*. *compar*: i.e. on the same social plane; strongly ironical.

6. *passa*: sc. *est*; with *aegre*, "were angry at." *Cui*: referring to *vim*. *equestri*: from the Gr. *Ποσειδώνιος*, "Poseidon creator of the horse." *Consualia*: "games in honor of Consus." This is either an earlier Italic name for Neptune, or, as is more likely, Livy has confused two events that were similar in the racing feature.

7. *indici*: in modern terms, "to be advertised."

- 8 celebrant, ut rem claram expectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antem-  
 9 nates; iam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent,  
 10 mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus  
 11 Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem quaeque inciderat, raptae; quasdam forma excellentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant;  
 12 unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.
- 13 Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per

8. **proximi quique**: the plur. of a superl. with a strengthening *quisque* is rare, but the other plurals in the passage have influenced the form. **Caeninenses**, etc.: citizens respectively of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae, nearby towns.

9. **iam**: "finally." **frequentem tectis**: "with its numerous buildings."

10. **deditaeque**, etc.: i.e. their whole attention was directed thither.

11. **forte**, . . . **inciderat**: "at random, by the one into whose hands each maiden chanced to fall." **raptae**: a sense agreement with *pars*. **ex plebe**: = *plebei*, with *homines*. Livy fails to think of even an early Rome without its plebeians.

12. **multisque . . . ferrent**: "and when various ones asked for whom they were taking her." **identidem . . . clamitatum**: note the emphasized frequentative. **Talassio**: the whole purpose of this aetiological myth lies in this dative. In Livy's day the word "**Talassio**" (*nuptialem hanc vocem*) was shouted as the bride entered the groom's home. No one really knew its origin, but this invention "explained" it.

13. **ludicro**: = *spectaculo*. **per fas ac fidem**: "against right and honor," referring chastically to *hospitii* and *deum*. **venissent**: subjunct. of indir. thought; as they said in their complaints.



- 14 *fas ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui conubium finitimis negassent: illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque et, quo*
- 15 *nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore; mollirent modo iras et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adniscurus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentum*
- 16 *etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.*
- 1 X. Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tati Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se

14. **raptis**: see *Introd. V. 1. b. (1)*. Practically = *raptarum* (cf. 10. 1). **in societate (fore)**: "would share the possession of." **quo . . . sit**: parenthetical, anticipating *liberum* (= *liberorum*).

15. **postmodum**: = *postea*. **eoque . . . viris**: "they would find their husbands all the kinder." **suam vicem**: "on his own account;" adv. acc.

16. **Accedebant**: "besides (his plea) there were." See on 6. 3.

**factum . . . amore**: "who sought to explain their act on the plea of passionate love." **quae . . . preces**: = *preces, quae*. An antecedent referring in a general way to what precedes is regularly included in the rel. clause.

X. 1. **sordida**: a sign of grief and distress. **indignationes**: "expressions of indignation." **eo**: = *ad eum*.

3. **Antemnates**: just as emphatic as *Crustumini*, but *ne . . . quidem*

- impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum in  
 4 agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastan-  
 tibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certa-  
 mine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum  
 fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in proelio  
 obtruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso urbem primo  
 impetu capit.
- 5 Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir  
 magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia  
 ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte fer-  
 culo gerens in Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad  
 quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono  
 designavit templo Iovis finis, cognomenque addidit deo.
- 6 'Iuppiter Feretri,' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex  
 regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo  
 animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis, quae  
 regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes
- 7 posterī ferent.' Haec templi est origo, quod primum  
 omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum,  
 nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturus  
 eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine com-

must not be separated too far.  
**ipsum:** probably nom. See on  
*ipsae*, Praef. 4. **nomen Caeninum:**  
 a political designation, as *nomen*  
*Latinum*, "the Latin people."

4. **fundit fugatque fusum:** a  
 frequent combination in Livy. See  
 on 5. 3.

5. **ostentator:** "a parader."  
 Colloquial. **fabricato . . . apte**  
**ferculo:** "upon a barrow expressly  
 built." This is a primitive form of  
 the triumphal procession, as Rom-  
 ulus mounts to the hill, where there  
 is, of course, no temple as yet.

6. **Feretri:** Livy obviously means  
 to connect this ancient *cognomen*  
 with *fero*; others suggest *ferire*, i.e.  
*dux ferit ense ducem*. **Romulus rex**

**regia:** note the formality. **tem-**  
**plum:** see on 6. 4. The building  
 afterwards erected fell into decay,  
 and was restored by Augustus about  
 32 B. C.: *aedem Feretrii Iovis, quam*  
*vetustate dilapsam refecit* (4. 20. 7).  
**sedem:** "as a place of deposit."  
**opimis spoliis:** according to tradi-  
 tion "spoils of honor" were only  
 those taken from one leader by  
 another (4. 20. 6). **me auctorem:**  
 "my example."

7. **Ita:** explained by the two  
 infin. clauses introduced by *nec* . . .  
*nec*; these are logically the subject  
 of *visum*. **nec . . . laudem:** "that  
 the praise gained from the offering  
 of this gift should not be cheapened  
 by the number of those sharing it."

potum eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

- 1 XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana
- 2 legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia coniunx precibus raptarum fatigata orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia
- 3 posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustumino profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod
- 4 alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae; plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustumino nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.
- 5 Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt.
- 6 Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat — aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petatum ierat —;

**Bina:** distributives instead of cardinals are used with such words as *spolia*, *castra*, *litterae*, which are plur. in form only. The honor was accorded A. Cornelius Cossus in 428 B. C. and M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 B. C.

**XI. 1. per:** "taking advantage of." Hendiadys follows. **legio:** the cognate in Eng. would be anachronistic.

**2. civitatem:** "free citizenship."  
**rem:** = *rem publicam*.

**3. impetratum:** sc. *est*. **al-**

**lenis:** distinguish from *altis*.

**4. Utroque:** the last two; Caenina is omitted.

**5. maximum:** the smaller encounters were purposely disposed of first.

**6. virginem:** in the simplest terms a daughter of Tarpeius betrays the citadel; as the story grew (note the interrupted epiploce *accipiet . . . accepti*) she is represented as a Vestal virgin who had gone to get water for the sacred rites.

7 accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius  
 arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid  
 8 usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabula, quod  
 vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio  
 laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint,  
 pepigisse eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo  
 9 scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt, qui eam ex  
 pacto tradendi, quod in sinistris manibus esset, directo  
 arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam  
 peremptam mercede.

1 XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini, atque inde postero  
 die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Pala-  
 tinum Capitolinumque collem campi est complisset, non  
 prius descenderunt in aequum, quam ira et cupiditate  
 recuperandae arcis stimulante animos in adversum  
 2 Romani subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant,  
 ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hos-  
 tilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa  
 3 animo atque audacia substinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit,  
 confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusaque est ad vete-

7. **obrutam**: sc. *eam*.

8. **Additur fabula**: here and at *Sunt, qui* below are introduced, from two different sources, phases of the story that Livy does not accept. **armillas**: "bracelets." The ornaments here mentioned suit the later ideas about the Gauls rather than the simple Sabines. **eo**: "accordingly." The Sabines make their own interpretation of the terms by throwing their shields upon her.

9. **ex pacto tradendi**: "by the compact that they give her." **arma petisse**: i.e. to disarm them. This more honorable interpretation fits the tradition that Tarpeia's grave was upon the Capitoline and that yearly libations were made to her. **fraude . . . agere**: "when she was

seen to be acting treacherously." **sua . . . mercede**: instr. abl. with *peremptam* (*esse*). In this version Tarpeia claimed the shields as her meaning of the *quod . . . esset* clause, but they were delivered in the wrong way.

XII. 1. **Tenuere**: in translating bring out the emphasis; so with *restitere* below (7). **campi**: part. gen. with *quod*. The later Forum was thus on this very site (cf. 8.). **in adversum**: sc. *collem*, suggested by *subiere*.

2. **ab Sabinis**: "on the Sabine side." **iniquo**: concessive.

3. **portam**: the *Porta Mugonia*, the nearest of the three gates of the original settlement on the Palatiné.

4 rem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma ad caelum tollens, 'Iuppiter, tuis' inquit 'iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde huc  
5 armati superata media valle tendunt; at tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem  
6 Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua prae-  
7 senti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, 'hinc' inquit, 'Romani, Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet.'

Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi; ipse  
8 ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat clamitans: 'vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes; iam sciunt longe aliud  
9 esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.' In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit. Pulsum Romani persequuntur; et alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa  
10 fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu sequentium trepidante equo coniecit; averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem, adniventibus

4. et ipse: "too," as well as the army. See on Praef. 3. **superata**: i.e. already gained and passed.

5. **arce**: from *arceo*. **Romani**: so-called dat. of separation.

6. **Statori Iovi**: the usual order reversed to emphasize the connection with the causative *sistere* = "make stand, stay." The foundation of this temple thus ascribed to Romulus has been excavated near the arch of Titus.

8. **hospites . . . hostes**: such a play upon words, or paronomasia, is common in Latin. **longe aliud . . . aliud**: perhaps excited emphasis for *longe aliud ac*, "a far different thing from."

9. **eo . . . facilius**: "all the easier." **PELLI**: sc. *eum*. **alia . . . acies**: "the rest of the line."

10. **strepitu**: causal with *trepidante*. **quidem**: contrasting his escape with the general result.

ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo, evadit; Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium. Sed res Romana erat superior.

- 1 XIII. Tum Sabinæ mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum  
ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis  
muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre,  
2 ex transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, diri-  
mere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine  
nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio  
macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum pro-  
3 geniem. 'Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in  
nos vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac cae-  
dium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam  
4 sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.' Movet  
res cum multitudinem tum duces. Silentium et repen-  
tina fit quies, inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt,  
nec pacem modo, sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt,  
5 regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt Romam.  
Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur,

**adnuentibus . . . addito:** two abl. abs., and with the second a causal *favore*, summarizing the first. See *Intro.* V. 1. c. (2).

**XIII. 1. quarum:** objective gen. **inferre:** after the participle *ausae*, while *dirimere* below is hist. inf. **ex . . . facto:** "rushing in from the side."

**2. iras:** = *iratos*. **hinc . . . hinc:** as in *Verg.* for *hinc . . . illinc*. **illi, hi:** repeating *soceri generique*. **nepotum . . . liberum:** appos. gen.; their offspring, "grandsons for the one side, for the other their sons."

**3. Si, etc.:** for the effect of the passage, note the sudden change to direct discourse, the anaphora of *si* and *nos*, the brachylogy *melius peribimus* (= *melius est, ut pereamus*), and the graphic use of *viduae* and *orbae*.

**4. Movet:** the emphatic position implies instant effect.

**5. Quirites a Curibus:** *Cures* was the chief Sabine town (mod. *Correse*), but this etymology is doubtful. Another ancient derivation was from the Sabine *quiris*, a lance, i.e. "the spearmen." In classical Latin, however, *Quirites* is often the opposite of *militēs*; so *Caes.* calls his mutinous men *Quirites*, in modern parlance, "quitters" (*Suetonius*, *Jul.* 70). **appellati:** both people, implied in *geminata urbe*. **Curium lacum:** see on 12. 6. Later on (7. 6. 3.) *Livy* inclines to the more common story connecting the name with *M. Curtius*, who devoted himself in the Forum in 362 B. C. The site of *Lacus Curtius* was discovered in April, 1904.

Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

- 6 Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina  
7 earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint, quae  
8 nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatius Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.
- 6 XV. Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendae urbis consi-

6. **tristi laeta**: note the contrast. **curias**: civil divisions, formed theoretically of *gentes* related by birth or customs, but scarcely thirty in number at this early period. The oldest popular assembly at Rome was the *comitia curiata*. **nomina earum**: of the curial names that survive, some are clearly derived from localities. Others, however, suggest names of women, and one, *Rapta*, is very significant.

7. **Id**: anticipates the indir. quest. **hoc**: i.e. than thirty.

8. **centuriae**: = *centumviriae*, a division of one hundred men. **Ramnenses** etc.: the derivations given are quite fanciful, but the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres represent the most ancient patrician divisions. **concors**: their harmonious reign was after several years terminated by the killing of Tatius by a mob,

because he had seemingly connived at the maltreatment of Laurentian ambassadors. Romulus as sole ruler gained victories over two Etruscan cities, Fidenae and Veii.

#### XV. 6-XVI. ESTIMATE OF ROMULUS; HIS DEIFICATION.

*Livy is here clearly conscious of a tradition, perhaps republican in origin, that Romulus became tyrannical in his later years. No act of his was inconsistent with his divine origin or his alleged deification after death. The vision of Julius Proculus supports the story of his translation.*

XV. 6. **fidei**: dat. after *absonum*, and followed by obj. gen. **non animus**, etc.: amplifying *quorum nihil*.

7 lium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim pro-  
fecto viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta  
8 deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen  
gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus  
militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam  
corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed  
etiam in pace habuit.

1 XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exerci-  
tum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem  
haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore  
tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut con-  
spectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris  
2 Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore,  
postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux  
rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis cre-  
debat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem rap-  
tum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum  
3 aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio  
facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis  
Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem preci-  
bus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet  
progeniem.

7. **Ab illo:** after *datis*. **valuit:** sc. *urbs*. **deinde:** "thereafter;" i.e. the profound peace of Numa's reign was due to Romulus.

8. **Celeres:** perhaps the *equites* of 13. 8. The name was variously derived by the ancients from *celeritas*, or from *Celer*, their first commander.

XVI. 1. **editis:** = *factis*. **campo:** the *campus Martius* of later date. **magno fragore tonitribusque:** note the sound and the hendiadys; "loud crashing of thunder." **contioni:** dat. of separation. **abstulerit:** with the perf. the result is stated more as an historical fact,

without strict reference to sequence of tenses; = *ut dicere liceat, eum ablatum esse*.

2. **turbido die:** we should say "violent storm." **raptum:** sc. *esse*, after the implied verb of saying. Another tradition denies the translation of Romulus, and refers to his burial in the Forum. An alleged "tomb of Romulus" was discovered near the Rostra in Jan., 1899.

3. **deum:** later identified with the Sabine war-god, Quirinus. **uti . . . sospitet:** archaic for *ut . . . servet*. The archaisms, asyndeton (*volens propitius*), and alliteration show the formulaic character.



- 4 Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent — manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama —; illam alteram  
 5 admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor,  
 6 in contionem prodit. 'Romulus' inquit, 'Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstissem, petens precibus, ut contra  
 7 intueri fas esset, 'abi, nuntia' inquit 'Romanis caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.'  
 8 'Haec' inquit 'locutus sublimis abiit.' Mirum, quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.
- 1 XVIII. Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, con-

4. **tum quoque**: an open charge of the plebeians later. Cf. 15. 8. **manavit**: "spread." The metaphor is from a trickling stream. **perobscura**: "only darkly hinted at," in contrast with *nobilitavit*.

5. **fides**: "confirmation." **gravis** . . . **auctor**: "an authority of weight for any report however important."

6. **perfusus horrore**: "filled with awe." The identical metaphor ("drenched") is impossible. **venerabundus**: see Introd. V. 2. e. **contra**: "face to face," a mark of favor for a mortal.

7. **proinde**: see on 9. 4. **nullas opes**, etc.: a belief in their "manifest destiny" gained many a victory for the Romans.

8. **mirum**: sc. *est*. **quantum**: "to what degree," adverbial and parallel to *quam*, each introducing an indir. quest.

*The first interregnum follows, with strife between the Sabine and the Roman factions as to which shall name a successor to Romulus. The plebeians for the first time become a factor and demand a king, rather than interreges, a board of interim rulers; they demand the right to elect him, which is granted, provided the patricians ratify the choice.*

XVIII. 1. 5. XIX. 1-5. XX. XXI. 1. 2. 6. XXII. 1. 2. **THE PEACEFUL REIGN OF NUMA.**

XVIII. 1. **tempestate**: see on 5. 2. **Numae Pompili**: these words

sultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris.

- 5 Audito nomine Numae patres Romani quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt.

- 1 XIX. Qui regno potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro con-  
 2 dere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes  
 3 populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum, ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.  
 4 Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac

suggest νόμος, "law," and πομπή, "Procession." Numa is therefore the lawgiver and founder of religious ceremonies (19. 1). **consultissimus**: with obj. gen., as in the more restricted *iuris consultus*, "jurist." **ut**: restrictive; it gives the negative idea always expressed or implied with *quisquam*.

5. **rege . . . sumpto**: with conditional force. **ad unum**: "to a man."

XIX. 1. **eam**: resumes *urbem*.

2. **adsuescere**: the subj. is general, "men." **efferari**: "were made savage." **Ianus**: an arched passageway, with two gates, near the Forum. A statue of *Ianus bifrons* stood within, facing east and west.

**ad infimum**: "at the foot of."

3. **clausus fuit**: "has it been closed." **semel**: in 235 B. C. **quod . . . videremus**: parenthetical, the antecedent being in *iterum*. **post . . . Actiacum**: two years after, in 29 B. C. **Augusto**: this title was conferred upon Octavian by the senate in Jan., 27 B. C. This date is significant here, since Livy's work must be dated by internal evidence. The first book was clearly not published before 27 B. C.; nor after 25 B. C., unless a third closing of Janus in that year has been omitted. The tone of the whole passage is against such an assumption.

4. **rem . . . efficacissimam**: in appos. with *deorum metum*.

- foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus
- 5 est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.
- 1 XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime, quae
- 2 nunc ad Dialectum flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numinis similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum,
- 3 alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venera-

**5. Qui:** sc. *metus*. **descendere ad:** "sink into." **commento:** "invention." **Egeria:** a nymph. **suos:** "appropriate, special." **cuique deorum:** = *sacris cuiusque deorum*; brachylogy.

**XX. 1. obibat:** "was wont to perform." **Dialectum:** from the stem *div*, "sky," as in archaic *Diespiter* for *Iuppiter*. The *flamen Dialis* (see on 12. 6) was the chief high priest of Jupiter.

**2. ituros:** "would likely go," thus leaving the *sacra* belonging to the king's office (*regiae vicis*) unattended. **adsiduum:** "regularly resident." He was not permitted to be absent from Rome a single night.

**3. virgines:** originally four, later six, who were bound to their service thirty years. Their home, the *Atrium Vestae*, has been excavated in recent years. **sacerdotium . . . haud alienum:** "a priestly office not unknown to." Either Numa gave new significance to the worship, or this honor is too zealously assigned to him, for it practically ignores Rea Silvia and the report that Aeneas brought the worship of Vesta from Troy. Cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 296. **de publico:** sc. *aerario*, "from the state's funds." **aliisque caerimoniis:** "and likewise by various distinctions."

- 4 biles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes
- 5 carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit. Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia
- 6 erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios
- 7 ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur; nec caelestes modo caerimonias, sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.
- 1 XXI. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iuran-

4. **Salios**: for the meaning of the name, cf. *sallatu* below. **tunicae**: appos. to *insigne*. **ancilia**: according to tradition a sacred shield had fallen from heaven, a token of power for Rome while in her possession. Numa shrewdly had eleven duplicates made to lessen the chances of its being lost. **canentes**: "chanting." These Salliaric hymns, some fragments of which are still extant, were not understood even by Livy's contemporaries.

5. **exscripta exsignataque**: "duly copied and sealed." The greatest

accuracy was necessary in the details of a formal worship, that he might know, e. g., with what victims, etc.

6. **quo**: = *is, ad quem*. **consultum**: supine.

7. **aliove . . . visu**: "or by any other manifestation."

XXI. 1. **adsidua insidens cura**: "constant, all absorbing worship." **fides ac ius iurandum**: a high sense of honor, seen especially in their regard for their oaths. **proximo . . . metu**: abl. abs. They were ruled by motives of right, with

dum proximo legum ac poenarum metu civitatem rege-  
 2 rent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli,  
 mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea  
 castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam  
 omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti  
 sunt, ut civitatem totam in cuitum versam deorum  
 violare ducerent nefas.

6 Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic  
 pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta  
 regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida  
 tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

1 XXII. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde  
 Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima  
 arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus  
 2 iussit; patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo  
 regi dissimilis sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit.

6 XXIII. Postquam structi utrimque stabant, cum  
 7 paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit  
 Albanus: 'iniurias et non redditas res, ex foedere quae  
 repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilius causam  
 huiusce' esse belli audisse videor nec te dubito, Tulle,  
 eadem prae te ferre; sed si vera potius quam dictu  
 speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos

fear of punishment wholly secondary.

2. *cum se . . . formarent*: causal; "since his men imitated the character of," not only was there an effect upon them, but upon the neighbors. *unici*: = *praestantissimi*.

XXII. 1. *cuius . . . pugna*: cf. 12. 2.

XXIII. 6-XXIV. 3. XXV. CONFERENCE WITH THE ALBANS. THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE HORATII AND THE CURIATII.

*The warlike disposition of Tullus Hostilius, the third king, soon involved the Romans in war with the Albans, but before any battle occurred the Alban dictator, Mettius Fufetius, proposed a conference with Tullus on matters of common interest.*

XXIII. 6. *Postquam . . . stabant*: see Introd. V. 4. e.

7. *infit*: archaic for *incipit*. *non redditas res*: "failure to restore property." *regem*: sc. *discentem* from *prae te ferre*, "allege." *causam*: pred. of *esse* understood.

- 8 vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, recte an perperam, interpretor; fuerit ista eius deliberatio, qui bellum suscepit; me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis, hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum  
 9 mari pollent. Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac victum, adgrediantur. Itaque, si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiiue aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, qua, utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine  
 10 multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.' Haud displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.
- 1 XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos  
 2 Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinatus animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil

**dictu:** supine with *vera* as well as with *speciosa*.

8. **recte:** sc. *stat.* **fuerit:** the less common hortatory of the past; i.e. it may well have been a subject for discussion then. **me:** as far as I am concerned; note the contrast. **gerendo bello:** the gerundive dat. is common in designating the function of an official. **quo . . . hoc:** with compar. like Eng. "the . . . the."

9. **spectaculo:** dat. of purpose. **utri . . . imperent:** the issue to

be decided.

10. **res:** "proposition." **Quaerentibus:** dat. of agent, poetic with simple forms of the passive.

XXIV. 1. **in . . . clara:** concessive, repeating the idea of *nobilior*. **error:** "uncertainty." **utroque trahunt:** cf. 7. 1. Writers claim them both ways. **plures:** an ingenuous basis of decision from a modern point of view.

2. **ut . . . dimicent:** a subst. clause of purpose. **unde:** we should say "where,"

3 recusatur; tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cuius populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

1 XXV. Foedere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus  
2 in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animos intendunt.

3 Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea  
4 deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent Ut primo statim concursu concrepuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit; et neutro  
5 inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde

3. **legibus**: "terms," explained in the following *ut* clause. **culus**: = *utrius*, resumed by *is*. **vicissent**: fut. perf. in the first form of the thought. **cum bona pace**: i.e. with full acquiescence.

XXV. 1. **adhortarentur**: "said by way of encouragement." **illorum**: *vestra* in dir. disc. **tunc arma . . . intueri**: "had their eyes at that moment upon their weapons." **suopte**: archaic and emphatic for *suo*.

2. **periculi . . . curae**: though without personal danger the men were harassed with anxiety as to what would be the outcome for the

state. **agebatur**: "was at stake." **erecti suspensique**: "on the tip-toe of expectation." **minime gratum**: strong litotes, the contest being utterly unlike the usual pleasure-giving spectacles at Rome.

3. **gerentes**: "with," like the Gr. ἔχον. **suum, publicum**: adversative asyndeton; not their own fate, but the state's. **futura**: i.e. the thought that; repeating the idea of the terms in 24. 2.

4. **arma**: "shields." **perstringit**: "rushes over." **torpebat**: voice and breath "were hushed."

5. **anceps**: "on either side."

- manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatio-  
que anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque  
et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium  
alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt.
- 6 Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus  
exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum  
tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quam tres
- 7 Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut uni-  
versis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox.  
Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita  
ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus
- 8 sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pug-  
natum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis inter-
- 9 vallis sequentes; unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In  
eum magno impetu rediit, et dum Albanus exercitus  
inclamat Curiatios, uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius  
caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc  
clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani  
adiuvant militem suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat.
- 10 Prius itaque; quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi
- 11 posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit; iamque aequato  
Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares.  
Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria  
ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter fessum vul-  
nere, fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque fratrum
- 12 ante se strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium

**spectaculo essent:** keeping up the figure in 2.

**6. vice:** "for the fate of."

**7. ut . . . sic:** "though . . . yet," as often in Livy. **secuturos:** sc. *eos*, his opponents, as subject.

**8. videt:** he sees first physically, then mentally, as the following constructions show.

**9. ex insperato faventium:** such as is theirs "who cheer after losing all hope."

**10. alter . . . alterum:** from two points of view: "the other . . . a second."

**11. Alterum, etc.:** "the one, his body unscathed by the sword and his two-fold victory made courageous." **ante se:** "before his eyes." **obicitur:** middle voice. Cf. *vertuntur* (13).

**12. fratrum Manibus:** the shades of his own two brothers were thus supposed to be appeased.



fuit. Romanus exsultans 'duos' inquit 'fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit; iacentem spoliatur.

- 13 Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.
- 1 XXIX. Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde 2 ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet; 3 sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu obliti, quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi

**Male sustinenti:** as Curiatius "feebly held up" his shield.

**13. dicionis alienae:** pred. poss., "subject to the sway of another."

**XXIX. THE DESTRUCTION OF ALBA LONGA.**

*The Albans apparently submit, but prove to be treacherous allies. Their capital, Alba Longa, is accordingly razed and its population transferred to Rome. Livy's description here is accounted a masterpiece.*

**1. Inter haec:** during the accusation and punishment of Fufetius as the one responsible for the Alban treachery. **Legiones:** in contrast

with *equites* before.

**2. hostilis:** = *hostium*. **omnia . . . miscet:** "brings upon every place the havoc of fire and sword."

**3. tacita:** "speechless." The main idea of the preceding phrase is secondary here. **obliti:** if this suspected word is kept, the dazed state of mind in which the Albans "cannot think out" what they should do, is boldly represented by the blank condition of the mind that cannot remember. Cf. similarly *omnium oblivio*, 5. 38. 5. **errabundi:** see Introd. V. 2. e. **ultimum:** adv. acc.; "for the last time." **illud visuri:** "destined to look upon that sight."

- 4 domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagarentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, iam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur, ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes
- 5 exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent, ac velut captos relinquerent deos.
- 6 Egressis urbe Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit; templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.
- 1 XXXII. Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente, Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompili
- 4 regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius erat. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor.
- 1 XXXIV. Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac

4. *impleverat*: with *ut*; the pluperf. emphasizing a resulting condition is thus parallel with the imperfects. *quibus* . . . *elatis*: = *eis*, quae quisque efferre poterat, *elatis*. *larem*: usually plur. in class. Latin.

6. *quadrilingentorum*: a round number. Alba was three hundred years older than Rome. Cf. Aen. 1. 272. *quibus*: "during which." See Introd. V. 1. c. (1). *templis*: dat. with *temperatum est*, after the analogy of *parcere*. *edictum* . . .

*fuerat*: = *edictum erat*. The pluperf. is frequently so formed in Livy. See Introd. V. 4. c.

XXXII. 1. 4. XXXIV. 1-3. 4-7. 10-12. XXXV. 1. 2. 6. *ANCO MARCIUS, FOURTH KING. THE ADVENT OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.*

XXXII. 1. *Tullo*: his reign had lasted thirty-two years. *filia ortus*: i.e. on his mother's side.

XXXIV. 1. *Anco regnante*: during his reign, Ancus added to

spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis — nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat — facultas non  
 2 fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres; Arruns prior quam pater moritur, nec  
 3 diu manet superstes filio pater. Lucumoni omnium  
 4 heredi bonorum cum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et quae haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora  
 5 sineret ea, quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingentiae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi  
 6 ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque  
 7 una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum, et cui Tarquini materna tantum patria esset.

the city the Aventine and the Janiculum. The latter was joined by the *pons sublicius*, the first bridge across the Tiber at Rome; the *Tullianum* (Mamertine prison) was constructed, and Ostia founded at the mouth of the Tiber. **Lucumo**: really an Etruscan noun expressing rank, like Lat. *princeps*. **honoris**: "political preferment." **Tarquiniis**: loc.; for the plu. cf. Veii, Pompeii. Tarquini was an important city in the Etruscan league. **peregrina**: i.e. his father was a Corinthian.  
 3. **animos facerent**: "aroused his ambition."

4. **auxit**: translate passively; "it was increased by his marriage."

**nata**: equivalent to a rel. clause, and parallel to *quae . . . sineret*, which characterizes her more definitely. **iis, quo**: after *humiliora*; "than the station, in which."

5. **ingentiae . . . caritatis**: a circumlocution for "patriotism," a word not found in Latin.

6. **ex virtute**: "based upon true worth." **Sabinum**: concessive. **imagine**: the language suits the custom of a later period when a waxen image of each ancestor who had held a curule office might be placed in the *atrium*.

7. **persuadet**: sc. *ei*, with which *cupido* agrees. **esset**: attracted to the sing. pred.

- 10 Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinius Priscum edidere nomen.  
 11 Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno adloquio, comitate invitandi beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando adiuvabat,  
 12 donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextereque obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset, et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

- 1 XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi  
 2 creando fierent; quibus indictis sub tempus pueros  
 6 venatum ablegavit. Eum ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit.

- 1 XXXVIII. Collatia et quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis ademptum; Egerius — fratris hic filius erat

10. **L. Tarquinius Priscum:** the requisite *tria nomina* of a proper Roman.

11. **Romanis:** contrasted with the *spernentibus Etruscis*. **novitas:** "his being a stranger." **conciliando:** abl. of means, on which depend three nouns in the same usage. See *Introd.* V. 1. c. (2).

12. **Notitiamque eam:** "such mere acquaintanceship." **in . . . iura:** "to the privileges." **expertus:** passive.

XXXV. 1. **filii:** though the office was elective, king Ancus was a grandson of king Numa, and the suggestion here is of closer succession.

2. **venatum:** supine.

6. **ingenti consensu:** according to tradition Tarquin was the first

Roman to canvass actively in seeking office. As king he increased his following in the senate by enlarging that body; he waged successful war with the Latins, gave magnificent public games, established the Circus Maximus, and founded the Ludi Romani. A stone wall about the city was started, also the foundation work for the Capitoline temple: sewers were opened to drain the lowest districts of the Forum site. With an increased cavalry, Tarquin defeats the Sabines and their town Collatia is surrendered.

#### XXXVIII. 1-3. THE FORMAL SURRENDER OF COLLATIA.

1. **Collatia:** about ten miles E. of Rome. **ita:** with *deditos (esse)*.

regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio eamque deditionis formulam esse: rex interrogavit: 'estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederetis?' Sumus. 'Estne populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?' Est. 'Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populi Romani dicionem?' Dedimus. 3 'At ego recipio'. Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit.

1 XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo, sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius 2 erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas 3 crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat.

2. **rex**: fetial ambassadors (cf. 7. 32. 1.) usually officiated, as they apparently did here on the Sabine side. **oratores**: "spokesmen." Even in modern law, "your orator pleads" (*orare*). **in sua potestate**: "independent," i.e. their action would not involve Rome in some further war.

3. **triumphans**: first mention of a formal triumph.

XL. XLI. XLVI. XLVII. THE KILLING OF TARQUIN. THE EVENTFUL REIGN OF SERVIVS TULLIVS.

XL. 1. **Servius Tullius**: the reputed son of a noble captive. A

flame which appeared as an omen (39. 1) about his head led the king and queen to rear him in a manner befitting his rank, and to betroth to him their daughter.

2. **filii**: cf. 35. 2. **indignitas crescere**: by change of construction, or anacoluthon, this represents *indignabantur*, which would naturally go with *filii*; *filii* is resumed by the dat. of ref. *iis*.

3. **si . . . rediret**: introducing their thought. **servitia**: = *servos*. The allusion is to a less generous tradition that Servius was *servus serva natus* (3). **quod . . . regnum** . . . **id**: emphatic for *id regnum*, **quod. virili stirpe salva**: "with

- Cum commune Romani nominis, tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non modo advenis, sed servis etiam regnum Romae
- 4 pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus, tum Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum, delegisset,
- 5 eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur; ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati
- 6 ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem
- 7 ex composito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.
- 1 XLI. Tarquinium moribundum cum, qui circa erant, excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eicit. Simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si

male descendants still alive."  
**pateret:** "be available."

4. **Sed:** adversative to the obvious thought that they would remove Servius.

5. **quibus:** = *iis ferramentis, quibus* (dat.).

7. **dum . . . averteret:** after the analogy of a *cum* clause.

XLI. 1. **moribundum:** see *Intro.* V. 2. *e.* **mirantium:** a sense agreement with *populi*. **quae . . . opus sunt:** with *opus* as a predicate the thing needed is in the nom. instead of the abl. **subesset:** "lurked in her mind." **praesidia:** i.e. means of defense for holding the power within the family.

- 2 destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum
- 3 inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. 'Tuum est' inquit; 'Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus; qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere.
- 4 Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris —
- 5 populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; iam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse; confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum
- 6 obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodit, ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum est comploratione

2. **Servio:** dat.

3. **peregrini:** concessive. **qui:** for the regular subst. interrog., as often in Livy. Here *quis sis* is thus avoided.

4. **in . . . versas:** "opening upon the Nova via," a street so named in contrast with the older Sacra via. **Iovis Statoris:** sc. *aedem*. Like Eng. "near St. Paul's."

5. **confidere:** sc. *se*, i.e. Tanaquil; but with *iubere*, sc. *regem*. **dicto:** dat. of ref. with *audientem esse*; to-

gether, a circumlocution for *parere*.

6. **trabea:** a state robe of white and purple, chiefly the latter. **fungendae vicis:** this regular gerundive is a survival of *fungi* as a transitive verb. **palam factum est:** sc. as subj. *exspirasse Tarquinium*. **comploratione:** the formal mourning, with its wailing and thrice calling the name of the dead. **voluntate:** "tacit consent," not the formal *auctoritas*. Cf. 32. 1.

in regia orta. Servius, praesidio firmo munitus, primus  
 7 iniussu populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi  
 iam tum, cum, comprehensis sceleris ministris, vivere regem  
 et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pome-  
 tiam exsulatum ierant.

1 XLVI. Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum  
 possederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene  
 Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata  
 prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim  
 diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne  
 se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam  
 2 alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio  
 spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius, quia  
 de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi,  
 criminandi Servi apud patres crescendique in curia sibi  
 occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis  
 animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimu-  
 3 lante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici  
 exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas,  
 ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret.

7. **exsulatum**: supine, "into exile."

*XLVI. During his reign Servius introduced important reforms. To this period belongs the Servian constitution which divided the people into five classes according to their possessions and their service to the government, and distributed the burdens of government according to wealth. There was too, a nucleus of the comitia centuriata. According to tradition, a temple of Diana was founded, the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline hills were added, and the whole city was surrounded by a wall, of which impressive remains are still to be seen.*

1. **usu**: "prescription," a legal term. By the early Roman law two years of peaceful possession gave a title even in realty. **voces**: introducing indir. disc., as *monumentum* at 12. 6. **agro . . . diviso**: abl. of means with *conciliata*. See Introd. V. 1. c. (2). **viritim**: the *ager publicus* had formerly been parcelled by the patricians only (47. 11).

2. **eo impensius**: "all the more effectively," with *criminandi*. **agi**: impersonal; "the action." **crescendi**: "of becoming more influential."

3. **et**: as well as the Grecian at Thebes, or Mycenae. **tragici**: i.e. fit subject for tragedy. **maturior** . . . **ultimumque**: predicates.



- 4 Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinius, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus duae Tulliae, regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinius eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, 7 quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit — malum malo aptissimum — sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere, quam cum impari iungi, ut 8 elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adolescentem suae temeritatis implet. Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor, prope continuatis funeribus

4. **Prisci Tarquini:** the *nomen* and *cognomen* are sometimes reversed, if the *praenomen* is omitted. **ediderim:** potential subjunctive in modest statement.

5. **duobus . . . nupserant:** Servius had betrothed his daughters to the sons of Tarquin, so that these young men might not conspire against him, as the sons of Ancus had conspired against Tarquin. **ne:** irregularly after a verb of happening, because a divine purpose is implied.

7. **malum . . . aptissimum:** a proverb; translate accordingly. **turbandi omnia:** the gerund rather than the gerundive is regular with neuter adjectives and pronouns to avoid ambiguity. Cf. 1. 21. 1. **rectius . . . futurum fuisse:** "it would have been better;" the apodosis of a contrary to fact condition in indir. disc. Cf. *visuram fuisse* (8). **viduam . . . caelibem:** fem. and masc. of the same idea.

9. **matrimonio:** dat. **magis . . . adprobante:** simply "not pre-

cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante.

- 1 XLVII. Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent:
- 2 non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere
- 3 quam sperare regnum mallet. 'Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia
- 4 est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est; di te penates patrique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tar-
- 5 quinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinos aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior
- 6 quam patris'. His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa,

venting it rather than approving;" parental acquiescence.

XLVII. 1. **infestior** . . . **infestius**: passive in sense. **gratuita**: "to no purpose."

2. **cui** . . . **diceretur**: i.e. a husband in mere name had not been lacking. **serviret**: her dream was of reigning.

3. **istic**: "in you."

4. **quin**: = old interrog. *qui* and *ne* (*non*), "why not." **accingeris**: middle voice; after *quin*, see on

9. 18. 11.

5. **frustraris**: she conceives that the citizens expect what she herself hopes for. **regium iuvenem**: "a prince." See on *caritatis*, 34. 5. **imago**: see on 34. 6. **facesse**: sc. *te*. Note the intensive formation. **devolvere retro**: followed by *ad* = "sink back to the level of."

6. **nullum momentum** . . . **faceret**: "have no weight;" indirect thought.

regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.

- 7 His muliebris instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres; admonere paterni beneficii, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; adlicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo  
8 tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo, ut iam agenda rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus percussis pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens, patres in curiam  
9 per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Convenere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeeparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo  
10 attoniti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non inter regno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri  
11 dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo  
12 simo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

7. **minorum . . . gentium patres**: a junior class of senators appointed by Tarquin's father. **pro eo gratiam**: "support in return;" the eternal *quid pro quo* of politics. **criminibus**: "by charges against." Distinguish from *scelus*.

8. **pro**: "in the front part of." **ad regem Tarquinium**: the official warrant for the summons.

9. **non venisse**: "their not coming." **fraudi**: dat. of purpose; with *esset*, translate "work harm." **ac-**

**tum**: sc. *esse*; a colloquialism, "all up with."

12. **censum**: this rating of citizens' property, to determine their class in the five-fold division of the Servian Constitution, Tarquin maintains was made in order that the fortunes of the rich might be clearly marked for arousing envy. **unde**: = *ex qua*, introducing a rel. clause of purpose. **vellet**: the so-called iterative subjunctive.

- 1 XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset  
trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae  
magna voce 'quid hoc' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? qua tu  
audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede  
2 considerare mea?' Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris  
sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiolem filium  
regis regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam elu-  
dentem insultasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fauto-  
ribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, appare-  
3 batque regnaturum, qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius,  
necessitate iam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo  
et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium,  
elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus  
4 deicit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit  
fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum; ipse prope  
exsanguis, cum sine regio comitatu domum se reciperet,  
ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant,  
5 interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere,  
admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod  
satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum  
virorum evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appel-  
6 lavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se  
domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium  
vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum  
dextra in Vrbium clivum, ut in collem Esquilium

**XLVIII. THE KILLING OF  
SERVIUS; SUMMARY OF  
HIS REIGN.**

1. **Huic orationi:** emphatic;  
"while he was still speaking in such  
terms."

2. **ad haec:** sc. *responderet*. **filium:** = *quod filius esset*. **per licentiam eludentem:** "in insolent mockery."

3. **ultima audere:** "to risk extreme measures."

5. **non abhorret,** etc.: "was not

inconsistent with her actions in the rest of the crime." **Brachylogy.**  
**nec reverita:** an especial breach of propriety.

6. **Cyprium vicum:** aside from the Sacra via and the Nova via, the streets of Rome were either *vici* or *clivi* (i.e. up hill). The vicus Cyprius led from "down town" toward the Subura, and crossed at its highest point the clivus Urbis, where a turn to the right on Urbis led to the residence district of the Esquil-

evenheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae Servium 7 trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.

- 8 Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima 9 regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitantibus intervenisset.
- 1 XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare coepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse 2 dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebatur, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi

line. **flectenti**: sc. *ei*, dat. of ref. after *restitit*. **iacentemque**, etc.: something lying in the way is pointed out to his mistress,—it is Servius, slain.

7. **furiis**: the avenging Furies of the dead are none other than the lashings of one's guilty conscience, as Cicero rationalizes the myth (Rosc. Am. 67). **sanguinis** . . . **paternae**: hendiadys, "the blood of her murdered father." **quibus iratis**: "so that through their anger."

9. **ni** (= *nisi*) . . . **intervenisset**: by a familiar ellipsis the apod-

osis is *et depositurum fuisse* (for *deposuisset* in dir. disc.), "and that he would have laid it down." **intestinum**: "within his own family."

XLIX. 1-7. LIV. 1-5. 10. 11. LIV. LVII. **TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS**, SEVENTH AND LAST KING.

XLIX. 1. **coepit**: archaic for *incepit*. **socerum gener**: note the contrast. **sepultura**: for the fate of the souls of the unburied, cf. Aen. 6. 329 *centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum*.

2. **male**: "by foul means,"

regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis  
 3 corpus circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu  
 4 neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat,  
 5 bat, perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset.  
 6 Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo  
 7 esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, iniussu populi ac senatus fecit diremitque.

1 LIII. Nèc, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit.  
 3 Ubi cum divendita praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis

3. **ut qui**: see on Praef. 2.

4. **in caritate**: in contrast with Servius (46. 1). **reponenti**: sc. *ei*, the agent with *tutandum esset*. **capitalium**: in the Roman sense, cases affecting life, liberty, property, or citizenship. **consiliis**: i.e. counselors with the special knowledge needed, whom he might have chosen from the senate list to aid him.

5. **unde**: = *eos*, a *quibus*.

7. **omnibus**: neut. **senatum consulendi**: under the absolute rule of the kings the senate at best

was only an advisory body. Tarquin finally dropped all pretense, and counseled only with close friends.

LIII. 1. **quin**: = *quin etiam*. **ea arte**: "by his skill in this." **degeneratum**: neut. ptcp. as subst.; "the fact of his degeneracy."

2. **in**: i.e. it ran into a war lasting so long.

3. **quadraginta talenta**: somewhat less than \$50,000. The use of *talanta* shows that Livy's source was one of the early Roman

templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.

4 Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, 5 adgressus est. Nam cum, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris 10 in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens. Benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives, 11 qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

1 LIV. Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse, et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem 2 potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana adcresceret fides,

historians who wrote in Greek. See Introd. III.

4. *spe*: = *quam speraverat*; brachylogy. *pulso*: sc. *Tarquinto*. See on *Romanis*, 12. 5. *minime* . . . *Romana*: note Livy's patriotic tone.

10. *Vetant mirari*: this trans-

lates the natural direct *noti mirari*.

11. *eius*: = *Sexti*.

LIV. 1. *adhiberi*: hist. infin. The narrative is vivid throughout the chapter. *quod* . . . *nosset*: "because, as he claimed, he was acquainted with."

2. *vana*: "misplaced."

- 3 dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum inscia multitudine, quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tar-
- 4 quinius dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo tanta caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset.
- 5 Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei dii dedissent.
- 6 Huic nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit sequenti nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando expectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse, quaeque viderit, refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia
- 8 insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi, quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus, patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit.
- 9 Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, alii in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque
- 10 bona iuxta atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largi-

3. **certatim** . . . **credere**: as if vying with each other in the strength of their belief. **dono**: instr. abl.

5. **ut** . . . **posset**: subst. clause after *dedissent*. **omnia unus**: a frequent combination: he was one man all powerful. **ei**: for *sibi*, because from the messenger's point of view.

6. **deliberabundus**: see Introd. V. 2. e. **summa** . . . **capita**:

the whole story is applied from Herodotus 5. 92.

7. **insita ingenio**: "innate."

8. **tacitis ambagibus**: "silent intimations." **sua** . . . **opportunos**: "readily suggested by their own unpopularity."

9. **volentibus**: with conditional force. **iuxta atque**: "as well as." **divisui fuere**: = *dividuntur*: see Introd. V. 1. b. (2).



tiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

- 1 LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda
- 2 delenire popularium animos studebat. Temptata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes.
- 4 In his stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis
- 5 quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium
- 6 convivii comisationibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinius, ubi et Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus
- 7 mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato viri

LVII. 1. **Ardeam**: some twenty miles S. of Rome. **ut**: see on 1. 18. 1. **ditari**: "to enrich himself." Tarquin, according to tradition, had lavished money upon public works, especially the Capitoline temple and the Cloaca Maxima. The Cloaca, as we know it, a very ancient closed sewer, part of which is still in service, belongs to a later date. **animos**: disaffected because of the king's general tyranny and because he kept them at hard labor on his works.

3. **parum processit**: "made poor progress." **coepti**: *coepti* regularly

attracts its voice to its complementary infin.

4. **commeatus**: "furloughs."

5. **otium . . . terebant**: after the analogy of *tempus terere* (cf. 9), "to while away time."

6. **apud**: military, "at the quarters of." **Collatinus**: i.e. of Collatia (38. 1). See on 46. 4. **miris modis**: poetic, "in wondrous wise." Cf. Aen. 1. 354.

7. **cuique**: brought forward from its natural position in the *quod* clause, where *vir . . . oculis* represents it, but emphasizes the character of the test. **specta-**

- 8 adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino; 'age sane!' omnes. Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt  
 9 inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus videbant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantem ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit.  
 10 Adveniens vir Tarquinique excepti benigne; victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae  
 11 capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

- 1 LIX. Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens, 'per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, exacturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare  
 2 Romae passurum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat, iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur

**tissimum:** "the best evidence."

8. **intendentibus tenebris:** i.e. "the shades of night were falling fast."

9. **in medio aedium:** = *in mediis aedibus*; the atrium, not the banquet hall.

10. **per vim stuprandae:** "of offering violence to."

11. **tum quidem:** Sextus returning later, however, offered violence to Lucretia, who forthwith summoned her husband and rela-

tives, revealed to them Tarquin's crime, and thereupon plunged a knife into her heart.

LIX. LX. **EXPULSION OF THE KING; ELECTION OF TWO CONSULS.**

LIX. 1. **Brutus:** though called "the Dullard," he now becomes important as a liberator of his country. **illis:** Lucretia's father and husband. **ferro . . . vi:** a proverbial expression. Cf. 2. 10. 4.

- 3 **ducem.** Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum defe-  
 runt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indig-  
 4 **nitae** homines. Pro se quisque scelus regum ac vim  
 queruntur. Movet cum patris maestitia, tum Brutus  
 castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auc-  
 torque, quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capi-  
 5 **endi** adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque  
 iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et  
 cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio relictæ Collatiae,  
 custodibusque ad portas locatis, ne quis eum motum  
 regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam  
 profecti.
- 6 Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit armata  
 multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi  
 anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud  
 7 **temere** esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum  
 Romae tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat.  
 Ergo ex omnibus locis orbis in forum curritur. Quo  
 simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum, in  
 quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advo-  
 8 **cavit.** Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris inge-  
 niique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac  
 libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et  
 miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae  
 9 **causa** mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita  
 superbia ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in  
 fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae: Romanos

4. **Movet:** translate passively to bring out the emphasis; "men were affected." **auctor:** "advocating;" connect with *capiendi*. **quod:** = *id, quod*, anticipating *arma capiendi*. **adversus . . . ausos:** = *adv. eos, qui hostilia ausi essent*; brachylogy.

5. **regibus:** including members of the royal family. Cf. 41. 3.

7. **Celerum:** the king's body-

guard (15. 8). That their commander could legally call the assembly, as could the republican *magister equitum*, is doubtful.

8. **Tricipitini:** the cognomen of Lucretia's father.

9. **Addita:** sc. *est*, as with *memorata* below. **pro bellatoribus:** "instead of warriors true." *Bellatoribus* is Virgilian. **invecta:** i.e. the fact that she drove (48. 7).

homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata caedes et invecta corpori patris nefando  
 10 vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indig-  
 nitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut impe-  
 11 rium regi abrogaret, exsulesque esse iuberet L. Tar-  
 quinium cum coniuge ac liberis. Ipse iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis  
 12 iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit exsecrantibus, quacumque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

1 LX. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus — senserat enim adventum —, ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt.  
 2 Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios, tamquam in suum regnum, profectus ab ultoribus veterum simulatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciverat,

**10. scriptoribus:** dat. of ref. with *facilia*; the latter is in apposition with *quae*. **subicit:** "always suggests." The whole thought is the graceful tribute of a writer to the vehemence and force of the spoken word.

**11. Ardeam in castra:** in Latin each place is destination. **praefecto urbis:** the urban prefect was always "acting-king" in the king's absence, *ne urbs sine imperio foret*,

Tacitus, Ann. 6. 11.

**12. Tullia:** note the novel-like interest in reporting each character's fate.

**LX. 1. flexit viam:** "changed his course." The position relieves the instant thought that the two would meet.

**2. Tarquinio . . . liberatorem:** their reception is remarked in chiasmic order.

- 3 est interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor.
- 4 Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Servi Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus

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3, **Regnatum**: "the monarchy had lasted;" *regnare* is intrans. The date is traditionally given as 509 B. C., but it is 506 B. C. according to Livy's chronology.

4. **comitiis centuriatis**: the assembly of the people by classes, or centuries, which, later especially, was of great political importance.

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER II.

1 I. Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque  
gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum poten-  
2 tiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut lae-  
tior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores  
ita regnarunt, ut haud immerito omnes deinceps con-  
ditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab  
3 se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque  
ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo  
exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit,  
si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui  
4 regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa  
pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis popu-  
lis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe  
impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta  
esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus  
5 serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac libe-

#### I-II. 2. THE BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. **Liberi**: the word is a key-note to the contents. **annuos**: instead of a life tenure. See 7

2. **ut . . . numerentur**: the statement is from a contemporary point of view.

3. **pessimo publico**: "with the greatest detriment to the state"  
**facturus fuerit**: the apodosis of unreal conditions after *quin* and other words requiring a dependent subjunctive, shows a peculiar peri-

phrastic form, derived e.g. here from an emphatic *facturus fuit*.

4. **convenarum**: explained best by 1. 8 6 **sub tutela**: in the asylum (*templum*) of Romulus the newcomers, whether slaves or criminals, were secure from punishment. **regio**: = *regis*, objective. **coepta esset**: see on 1. 57. 3. **tribunicis procellis**: i.e. the stormy conflicts when the tribunes of the people, some of whom were demagogues, became more active.

5. **pignera**, etc.: "He that hath

rorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur.

Brutus prior, concedente collega, fasces habuit; qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit; traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui patres quique conscripti essent: conscriptos, videlicet novum senatum, appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

wife and children hath given hostages to fortune."—*Bacon*. **adsuescitur**: impersonal; "one grows attached."

**6. eoque**: "to such a state."

**7. annuum**: emphatic predicate. **deminutum . . . sit**: subjunctive from the analogy of a reason denied after *non quod*. The consuls as a matter of fact had less power than a king.

**8. fasces**: the bundles of rods with axes protruding, which, as the insignia of absolute authority, the lictors carried before the ruling consul.

**9. avidum**: "who were jealous." **postmodum**: = *postea*. **passuros**: infin. Sc. *se* in sense agreement with *populum*.

**10. frequentia**: "by the numerical strength." Cf. the opposite in 1. 49. 6. **ad summam explevit**: "rounded out to a total."

**11. traditum**: containing the idea of *mos*, is followed by the explanatory *ut* clause. **conscriptos**: the familiar *patres conscripti* is a case of asyndeton (= *patres et conscripti*), as is shown here. **mirum quantum**: colloquial, "wonderfully."

- 1 II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quae-  
dam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi  
2 regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id  
sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos  
aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret.
- 1 IX. Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum  
regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque  
nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem  
2 sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur, nunc  
monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges  
4 inultum sineret. Porsinna, cum regem esse Romae  
tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam  
5 infesto exercitu venit. Non umquam alias ante tantus  
terror senatum invasit; adeo valida res tum Clusina  
erat magnumque Porsinnae nomen. Nec hostes modo  
timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs  
metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servi-  
6 tute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi  
7 per id tempus ab senatu data. Haec indulgentia patrum  
asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo  
concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non  
8 summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam  
unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam  
tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

II. 1. **Rerum . . . divinarum:**  
see on *liberi*, 1. 1.

2. **pontifici:** sc. *maximo*. **prima cura:** so excessively did they guard their new liberty, that the consul L. Tarquinius Collatinus, although a liberator, was presently forced to abdicate on account of his name. Brutus himself was later regarded with suspicion (2. 7. 9).

IX. 1. 2. 4-8. X. **TARQUIN'S EFFORTS TO REGAIN THE THRONE. HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE.**

IX. 1. **Tarquinii:** the banished king made various attempts to regain his throne, his appeal to Porsinna being his second attempt. His third and last effort was in the famous battle of Lake Regillus, 496 B. C. **Lartem:** a Romanized form of the Etruscan *larth*, "lord." **Clusinum:** see on 5. 33. 1.

4. **amplum Tuscis:** "a great honor for the Etrurians."

6. **blandimenta:** "special privileges."



- 1 X. Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex  
 2 agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia  
 muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta; pons sub-  
 publicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset,  
 Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis  
 3 Romanae habuit. Qui positus forte in statione pontis,  
 cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde  
 citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam  
 suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans sin-  
 4 gulos, obsistens obtestansque deum et hominum fidem,  
 testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugere; si  
 transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium  
 in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque  
 monere, praedicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque  
 vi possint, interrumpant; se impetum hostium, quan-  
 tum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum.
- 5 Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque  
 inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis com-  
 minus ad ineundum proelium armis ipso miraculo  
 6 audaciae obstupescit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo  
 pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos  
 7 claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi pro-  
 cellam et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper  
 sustinuit; deinde eos quoque ipsos, exigua parte pontis  
 relictâ, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum

**X. 2. Tiberi obiecto:** "by the barrier which the Tiber formed."  
**pons subpublicus:** this wooden bridge on piles (*subpublicae*), the first to span the Tiber at Rome, connected with the Janiculum and the roads thence to Etruria. **ni . . . fuisset:** see on I. 48. 9. **Cocles:** *qui altero lumine orbi nascerentur, coclites vocabantur*, Pliny, Nat. Hist. 11, 150. Doubtless an inherited cognomen. **id munimentum:** "in him a tower

of strength."

**4. deserto:** conditional. **transitum:** participle = *transissent*. It may be regarded as a subst., but cf. *ab tergo Alpes . . . transitae*, 21. 43. 4. **ferro,** etc.: a proverbial expression. Cf. I. 59. 1.

**5. inter . . . terga:** i.e. amid men whose backs were most in evidence as they left the fight.

**7. quod tumultuosissimum:** "the brunt."

- 8 coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad  
 proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc  
 increpare omnes: servitia regum superborum, suae  
 libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum venire.
- 9 Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proe-  
 lium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde com-  
 movit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hos-  
 10 tem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto  
 haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem  
 obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur detrudere  
 virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor  
 Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore  
 11 subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater,'  
 inquit, 'te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem  
 propitio flumine accipias'. Ita sic armatus in Tiberim  
 desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad  
 suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habituram ad  
 posteros quam fidei.
- 12 Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua in  
 comitio posita; agri quantum uno die circumaravit  
 datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia  
 13 eminebant; nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis  
 unusquisque aliquid fraudans se ipse victu suo contulit.
- 1 XXIII. Et bellum Volscum imminabat, et civitas secum

8. **Circumferens**, etc.: note the tone here, which is but in keeping with the poetic coloring of the whole passage. **servitia**: = *servos*.

10. **ingenti gradu**: "with mighty stride."

11. **propitio**: a part of the prayer. See on 1. 16. 3. **sic**: "just as he was."

**famae**:

"Still is the story told,  
 How well Horatius kept the  
 bridge,

In the brave days of old."

—*Macaulay, Horatius*, 587 ff.

**fidei**: "credibility." Livy's own admirable version of the legend has helped to make his prophecy a true one.

### XXIII. THE CONDITION OF PLEBEIAN DEBTORS.

*The defeat of Porsinna at Lake Regillus was followed by increasing arrogance on the part of the patricians, with oppression of the plebs; especially of the debtor class, which had increased during the wars.*

1. **nexos**: = *obligatos*. These were

ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat  
 2 odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremebant  
 se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a civi-  
 bus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam  
 in pace, et inter hostis quam inter civis libertatem plebis  
 esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis  
 3 unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum  
 omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit.  
 Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus  
 4 pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et  
 capilla efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen  
 in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant, aliaque  
 militiae decora vulgo miserantes eum iactabant; ipse  
 testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices  
 5 adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, unde ille  
 habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset  
 prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militan-  
 tem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo  
 caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora  
 abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum, aes  
 6 alienum fecisse. Id cumulatam usuris primo se agro  
 paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, pos-  
 tremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus; ductum se  
 ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et  
 7 carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recen-  
 tibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor  
 ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet, sed

technically slaves for debt, or peons, who were theoretically free otherwise; wholly so, if the debt could be paid, but there was large opportunity for abuse. **aes alienum:** "debt;" the Latin phrase is picturesque.

2. **invidiamque eam:** "the bitterness over this."

4. **ad hoc:** = *praeterea*. **promissa barba:** i.e. longer than usual.

Cf. 5. 41. 9. Barbers were not introduced at Rome until about 300 B. C. **ordines duxisse:** *sc. eum*; i.e. was a centurion. **adverso pectore:** showing that he had always faced the foe.

5. **Sabino bello:** some ten years before. **tributum.** a special war tax.

6. **cumulatam usuris:** "with its burden of compound interest."

- 8 passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi, vincti solutique, se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes; multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur.
- 9 Magno cum periculo suo, qui forte patrum in foro  
10 erant, in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Haec se meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque  
12 publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat, nec agi  
13 quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie  
14 ludibrio esse miseras suas. Iam prope erat, ut ne consulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti, morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia

Roman money lenders were without restrictions until the XII Tables (451 B. C.). **in servitium**: it would have been regular for a debtor to work *in servitute pro pecunia*.

8. **vincti solutique**: appositional; "whether in the chain gang or not." **fidem**: "protection." **voluntarius comes**: the ever ready crowd.

10. **manibus**: see on *templis*, 1. 29. 6. **Ap. Claudius**: A Romanized form of his native Sabine name Attius Clausus. Belonging to an

unpopular peace party at home, he had fled to Rome (505 B. C.) and founded the gens so famous in later history.

11. **Haec se meritos**: sc. *esse*; ironical and emphatic: "this was their reward." **futuri**, etc.: "with the intention of being witnesses whose presence would give direction to the acts."

12. **infrequentiam**: "lack of a quorum."

14. **ut . . . coerceret**: subst. clause, subj. of *erat*.

non modo inter patres, sed ne inter consules quidem  
 15 ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir,  
 imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero  
 adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis  
 aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum  
 tutius tum facilius esse.

- 1 XXXII. Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exer-  
 citus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent.  
 Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset,  
 tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacra-  
 mento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis  
 belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata  
 2 est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum  
 caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam  
 scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu  
 consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse — trans Anienem  
 3 amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum; ea frequentior  
 fama est quam, cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum  
 4 secessionem factam esse —; ibi sine ullo duce, vallo  
 fossaque communis castris, quieti, rem nullam nisi  
 necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque  
 lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere.
- 5 Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant

XXXII. XXXIII. 1. 2. *FIRST  
 SECESSION OF THE PLEBS.  
 THE FABLE OF MENENIUS  
 AGRIPPA.*

*War with the Volscians, Sa-  
 bines, Aruncians, and Aequians  
 alternated with civil dissensions,  
 as the plebs became more in-  
 sistent upon having their wrongs  
 redressed. Finally the plebs with-  
 drew from the city, until con-  
 cessions were made to safeguard  
 their rights.*

XXXII. 1. *dictatorem*: a su-  
 preme commander appointed in a

crisis to avoid having the authority  
 divided between two consuls. Cf.  
 3. 26. 6; 5. 46. 10. *habitus esset*:  
 the subjunctive with *quamquam* is  
 more common in later writers. *in  
 verba*: the oath was dictated, and  
 repeated *verbatim* by the soldiers.

2. *Sacrum montem*: a small hill  
 to be seen to-day near where the  
 Via Nomentana crosses the Anio.

3. *frequentior*: see on *plures*,  
 1. 24. 1. *Piso*: L. Calpurnius Piso,  
 consul 133 B. C., author of *Annales*,  
 a history of Rome from its earliest  
 period down to his own day. See  
 Introd. III.

- omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam patrum; timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere
- 6 eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde,
- 7 si quod externum interim bellum exsistat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere; eam per aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse.
- 8 Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur:
- 9 tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis
- 10 voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem
- 11 venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, red-dentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum con-
- 12 fecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.
- 1 XXXIII. Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent

7. *per aequa, per iniqua*: "by fair means or foul."

8. *oratorem*: see on 1. 38. 2. *inde* = *ex plebe*. *nihil aliud*: sc. *fecisse*. The fable that follows is one of great antiquity.

9. *indignatas*: sc. *esse*. *ventri*:

dat. of advantage.

11. *quo*: "by which, as a matter of fact," hence the indic.

12. *flexisse*: with *fertur* (8).

XXXIII. 1. *sacrosancti*: "inviolable," so that they might act fearlessly. *auxilii latio*: this right to

sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset,  
 2 neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita  
 tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi  
 tres collegas sibi creaverunt; in his Sicinium fuisse,  
 seditionis auctorem; de duobus, qui fuerint, minus con-  
 3 venit. Sunt, qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos  
 tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

bear aid, largely by the use of the veto, to oppressed plebeians corresponded to the *imperium* exercised by the consuls over the whole people. By degrees the tribunate became more than a protective magistracy, and still other rights were wrested from the patricians. The history of these struggles forms the

largest part of the history of the Republic for two centuries.

2. *fuisse*: sc. *convenit*.

3. *duos tantum*: probably true in view of their relations to the two consuls. At a later period there were five, and after 457 B. C. there were ten.

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER III.

- 1 XXVI. Vis Sabinorum ingens prope ad moenia urbis  
infesta populatione venit; foedati agri, terror iniectus urbi  
est. Tum plebs benigne arma cepit; reclamantibus frustra  
2 tribunis magni duo exercitus scripti. Alterum Nautius  
contra Sabinos duxit, castrisque ad Eretum positis per  
expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus,  
tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit, ut com-  
parati ad eam prope intacti bello fines Romani vide-  
3 rentur. Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in  
gerendo negotio fuit; nam cum haud procul ab hoste

#### XXVI-XXIX. 5. 7. WAR WITH THE SABINES; CINCINNATUS AS DICTATOR.

Rome's growth led naturally to severe conflicts with such neighbors as the Volscians, Aequians, and Sabines. In 458 B. C. the Sabines after a peace of ten years joined with the Aequians in making an attack upon Roman territory. The consuls, Nautius and Minucius, were sent against the invaders, but the latter proved unsuccessful against the Aequians on Algidus. His army was surrounded and besieged. In this crisis the Romans named the patrician farmer-statesman Cincinnatus as Dictator. Cf. Cic. de Sen. 56 in agris erant tum

senatores, id est senes, siquidem aranti L. Quintio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum.

XXVI. 1. **prope ad:** *prope* though pleonastic points the adverbial force of *ad*. **foedati:** = *foede populati*. **benigne:** the attitude of the plebs was always an uncertain one, because of the inflammatory advice their tribunes usually gave.

2. **Eretum:** the nearest Sabine town, about 15 miles N. E. of Rome. **expeditiones:** "detachments." **reddidit:** = *effecit*.

3. **fortuna:** reckoned among the necessary qualifications of a good leader by Cic. Pomp. 47. **vis animi:** "mental vigor." **negotio;**



- castra posuisset, nulla magnopere clade accepta castris  
 4 se pavidus tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit  
 ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia, et nocte adorti castra,  
 postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones pos-  
 tero die circumdant. Quae priusquam undique vallo  
 obiectae clauderent exitus, quinque equites inter sta-  
 5 tionem hostium emissi Romam pertulere consulem exer-  
 citumque obsideri. Nihil tam inopinatum nec tam  
 insperatum accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta  
 trepidatio fuit, quanta si urbem, non castra hostes  
 6 obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt. In quo cum  
 parum praesidii videretur dictatoremque dici placeret,  
 qui rem percussam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus  
 consensu omnium dicitur.
- 7 Operae pretium est audire, qui omnia prae divitiis  
 humana spernunt, neque honori magno locum neque  
 8 virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse affluent opes. Spes  
 unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius trans Tiberim,  
 contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt. quat-  
 tuor iugerum colebat agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocan-  
 9 tur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens palae innixus

"commission; the highest honor was in the charge: *negotium datum est, videret, ne quid detrimenti res publica caperet.*

4. *ubi senserant*: The pluperf. would seem to mean borne in upon them after seeing him continue within camp. *Postquam* with the pluperf. is common for single actions. *alieno*: i.e. *Romanorum*; subjective. *undique vallo obiectae*: "by blocking the entire way with a vallum."

5. *quanta*: sc. *esset*.

6. *rem . . . restitueret*: expressing purpose. Cf. the famous line of Ennius about Fabius Maximus: *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*, Cic. de Sen. 10. *Cincinnatus*:

pre-eminently a man of action combined with rare wisdom. He was consul 460 B. C., and is described (19. 3.) as *potens favore patrum, virtute sua, tribus liberis*.

7. *Operae*: see on Praef. 1. *audire*: sc. *eos* as subject. *unica*: stronger than *una*. Cf. 1. 21. 2.

8. *iugerum*: descriptive genitive. The four *iugera* were somewhat less than three acres.

9. *fodiens*: = *dum fodit*; parallel with *cum araret*. *palae innixus*: i.e. throwing his weight upon a spade. *salute . . . redditaeque*: "after greetings had been exchanged." Both this and *rogatus* are prior to *admiratus*. *quod bene verteret*: = *q. d. vertat* in dir. disc.

seu cum araret, operi certe, id quod constat, agresti intentus, salute data in vicem redditaeque rogatus, ut, quod bene verteret ipsi reique publicae, togatus mandata senatus audiret, admiratus rogitansque 'satin salve?' togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Racialiam iubet. Qua simul absterso pulvere ac sudore velatus processit, dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant, in urbem vocant, qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt.

11 Navis Quinctio publice parata fuit, transvectumque tres obviam egressi filii excipiunt, inde alii propinqui atque amici, tum patrum maior pars. Ea frequentia stipatus, antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum. Et plebis concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam tam laeta Quinctium vidit, et imperii nimium et virum ipso imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illa quidem nocte nihil praeterquam vigilatum est in urbe.

1 XXVII. Postero die dictator, cum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium, patriciae gentis, sed qui, cum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longe Romanae iuventutis habitus esset. Cum magistro equitum in contionem venit, iustitium edicit, claudi tabernas tota urbe iubet, vetat quemquam privatae quicquam rei agere. Tum, quicumque aetate militari essent, armati cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque duodenis

Sc. *res* as subject. An introductory wish in beginning formal business. **togatus**: the proper costume for state business. Cincinnatus was clad only in his tunic. Cf. Verg. Georgics 1. 299 *nudus ara, sere nudus*. **satin salve?** colloquial — *satisne salve agis?* "is all well?"

10. **consalutant**, etc.: note the haste in the asyndeton.

11. **domum**: this city property contradicts the popular story of his poverty.

12. **nimum**: a subst. **vehementiorem**: "apt arbitrarily to transcend."

XXVII. 1. **Tarquitium**: tradition had changed the *nomen abominandum* of the Tarquinii. Cf. 2. 2.

11. **pedibus**: the patrician was usually mounted.

2. **iustitium**: a suspension of legal business.

3. **cibariis**: "rations." **duodenis**: the usual number was three or four. **adessent**: "report." The

- 4 ante solis occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus  
aetas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino militi, dum  
is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere  
iussit. Sic iuventus discurrit ad vallum petendum.
- 5 Sumpere, unde cuique proximum fuit; prohibitus nemo  
est; impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris praesto  
6 fuere. Inde composito agmine, non itineri magis apti  
quam proelio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator,  
magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine  
7 quas tempus ipsum poscebat adhortationes erant: adde-  
rent gradum; maturato opus esse, ut nocte ad hostem  
perveniri posset. Consulem exercitumque Romanum  
obsideri, tertium diem iam clausos esse; quid quaeque  
nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse; puncto saepe temporis  
8 maximarum rerum momenta verti. 'Accelera, signifer!'  
'Sequere, miles!' inter se quoque gratificantes ducibus  
clamabant. Media nocte in Algidum perveniunt et,  
ut sensere se iam prope hostes esse, signa constituunt.
- 1 XXVIII. Ibi dictator, quantum nocte prospici poterat,  
equo circumvectus contemplatusque, qui tractus castro-  
rum quaeque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit,  
ut sarcinas in unum conici iubeant, militem cum armis  
valloque redire in ordines suos. Facta quae imperavit.
- 2 Tum, quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo  
agmine circumdat hostium castris, et, ubi signum datum  
sit, clamorem omnes tollere iubet, clamore sublato  
3 ante se quemque ducere fossam et iacere vallum. Editio

usual construction occurs below in  
*coquere*.

4. **quibus**: = *eos, quibus*. **militi**:  
collective, as is *vallum* below.

5. **unde**: = *inde, ubi*.

6. **apti**: = *cum apti essent*.

7. **adderent gradum**: they were  
to "double quick." **maturato**:  
translate "haste," an archaic use of

the perf. ptp. as substantive with  
*opus esse*. **maximarum** . . .  
**verti**: "the decision of the greatest  
issues hinges."

XXVIII. 1. **imperavit**: the act  
of the *imperator*, in contrast with  
*iubeant*.

2. **tollere** . . . **sublato**: cf.  
*cepisse, captum*, 1. 5. 3.

imperio signum secutum est. Iussa miles exsequitur. Clamor hostes circumsonat; superat inde castra hostium et in castra consulis venit; alibi pavorem, alibi gaudium ingens facit. Romani civilem esse clamorem atque auxilium adesse inter se gratulantes ultro ex stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differendum negat: illo clamore non adventum modo significari, sed rem ab suis coeptam; mirumque esse, ni iam exteriore parte castra hostium oppugnentur. Itaque arma suos capere et se subsequi iubet. Nocte initum proelium est; legionibus dictatoris clamore significant ab ea quoque parte rem in discrimine esse. Iam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant, cum ab interiore hoste proelio coepto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, a munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum versi vacuum noctem operi dedere; pugnatumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce prima iam circumvallati ab dictatore erant, et vix adversus unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum a Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim a perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic instabat nova pugna; illa nihil remiserat prior. Tum ancipiti malo urgente, a proelio ad preces versi hinc dictatorem, hinc consulem orare, ne in occisione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab consule ad dictatorem ire iussi; is ignominiam infensus addidit; Gracchum Cloelium ducem principesque alios

5. **mirum . . . ni:** colloquial, "very likely."

6. **rem in discrimine esse:** "that the fight was on."

7. **vacuam . . . dedere:** "left free for," so that during the night the rescuing forces put a circumvallation about the Aequi, who were thus caught between two Roman armies.

8. **Quinctiano:** = *Quinctii*; see Introd. V. 2. d. **vallum:** of the Aequi.

9. **ne . . . ponerent:** "not to make victory signify total slaughter."

10. **Gracchum Cloelium:** see on 1. 46. 4. He was *longe princeps in Aequis* (25. 5). **decedi:** impersonal. "the evacuation of." **sanguinis:** the genitive with *egere* is rare, and perhaps colloquial.

vinctos ad se adduci iubet, oppido Corbione decedi: sanguinis se Aequorum non egere; licere abire; sed, ut exprimatur tandem confessio subactam domitamque esse  
 11 gentem, sub iugum abituros. Tribus hastis iugum fit, humi fixis duabus superque eas transversa una deligata. Sub hoc iugum dictator Aequos misit.

1 XXIX. Castris hostium receptis plenis omnium rerum — nudos enim emiserat — praedam omnem suo tantum  
 2 militi dedit; consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans 'carebis' inquit 'praedae parte, miles, ex eo hoste, cui prope praedae fuisti; et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, legatus his legio-  
 3 nibus praeris.' Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu, iussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete oboediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiae hic exercitus memor et coronam auream dictatori libram pondo decreverit, et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit.

4 Romae a Q. Fabio praefecto urbis senatus habitus triumphantem Quinctium, quò veniebat agmine, urbem ingredi iussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces, militaria signa praelata, secutus exercitus praeda onustus.  
 5 Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domus, epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et sollemnibus iocis comisantium modo currum secuti sunt.

7 Quinctius sexto decimo die dictatura in sex menses accepta se abdicavit.

XXIX. 1. **receptis**: = *captis*, as often. **nudos**: associate with *inermes* in the hard terms of surrender. **tantum**: = *modo*.

2. **praedae** (*fuisti*): dative of purpose.

3. **imperio meliori**: "superior authority and worth." **decreverit**. See on *abstulerit*, 1. 16. 1.

4. **praefecto urbis**: this officer

represented the consuls in their absence. Cf. 1. 59. 11. **triumphantem**: the position emphasizes the voluntary action of the senate; nor was there the customary delay outside the city.

5. **epulantes**: sc. *milites*. **carmine triumphali**: not technically a *carmen triumphale*. Cf. 5. 49. 7. **sollemnibus**: "customary."

- 1 XXXIII. Anno trecentesimo altero, quam condita Roma erat, iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decemviros, quem ad modum ab regibus ante ad consules venerat, translato imperio. Minus insignis, quia
- 2 non diuturna, mutatio fuit. Laeta enim principia magistratus eius nimis luxuriavere; eo citius lapsa res est, repetitumque, duobus uti mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque.
- 3 Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius,
- 4 P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem, collega invito, ad patres
- 5 rettulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres, qui Athenas ierunt, simul ut pro legatione tam longinqua praemio esset honos, simul peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui fore credebant. Supplere ceteri
- 6 numerum. Graves quoque aetate electos novissimis suf-

XXXIII-XXXVIII. 5. XLII. 1-3.

6. 7. XLIII. THE DECEMVIRS  
AND THE TWELVE TABLES.

Rome's greatest legacy to the modern world was not on the side of language and literature, great as that has been, but in government and law. "She reigns throughout the world by her reason, after having ceased to reign by her authority." Prior to the middle of the fifth century B. C. there was no formulated code at Rome. Endless confusion and much injustice had arisen in administering unwritten laws, especially in the strained relations between patricians and plebeians. This constant friction led, according to tradition, to the sending of a special Commission of three men to Greece to study

their codes (3. 31. 8). It was next resolved that ten men should be elected to rule absolutely for one year, that they might codify the laws of the state.

XXXIII. 1. Anno . . . altero: the Fasti Consulares give 303 A. U. C., but Livy either has in mind the beginning of the movement, or is following another source.

2. magistratus eius: "of this régime."

4. alteri consulum: "one of the two consuls." Sestius had moved this whole measure (*eam rem*) in the senate.

5. legati tres: Manlius, Sulpicius, and Postumius (31. 8). praemio: dat. of purpose; so *usui* below.

6. quoque: i.e. old, besides merely serving to round out the number.

fragiis ferunt, quo minus ferociter aliorum scitis ad-  
 7 sarentur. Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium  
 erat favore plebis; adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat,  
 ut plebicola repente omnisque aurae popularis captator  
 evaderet pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis.

8 Decimo die ius populo singuli reddebant. Eo die  
 penes praefectum iuris fascēs duodecim erant; collegis  
 novem singuli accensi apparebant. Et in unica con-  
 cordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum  
 9 inutilis est, summa adversus alios aequitas erat. Mode-  
 rationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse  
 satis erit. Cum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso  
 cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patriciae gentis virum,  
 10 invento prolatoque in contionem, in re iuxta manifesta  
 atque atroci C. Iulius decemvir diem Sestio dixit, et  
 accusator ad populum exstitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus  
 erat, decessitque iure suo, ut demptum de vi magis-  
 tratus populi libertati adiceret.

1 XXXIV. Cum promptum hoc ius, velut ex oraculo  
 incorruptum, pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum  
 legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum  
 expectatione propositis decem tabulis, populum ad con-  
 2 tionem advocaverunt, et, quod bonum, faustum, felixque  
 rei publicae, ipsis liberisque eorum esset, ire et legere  
 3 leges propositas iussere: se, quantum decem hominum  
 ingeniis provideri potuerit, omnibus, summis infimisque,  
 iura aequasse; plus pollere multorum ingenia consilia-

8. **Decimo**: sc. *quoque*; "every tenth day." **praefectum iuris**: after the analogy of *praefectus urbis*, one at the head *pro tempore*. **singuli accensi**: the rest had each an attendant, while the lictors escorted only the *praefectus*. **qui consensus**: see on *quae preces*, 1. 9. 16.

9. **sine provocatione**: there was no right of appeal from their decisions. **invento**: the predicate of

*defosso cadavere*. **P. Sestium**: not the decemvir.

10. **diem dixit**: "brought an action against." **rei**: = *si reus apud se factus esset*. **demptum**: see on *degeneratum*, 1. 53. 1.

XXXIV. 2. **quod bonum, faustum, felixque . . . esset**: an introductory wish often used in formal announcements. See on 26. 9.

- 4 que. Versarent in animis secum unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde sermonibus atque in medium, quid in  
 5 quaque re plus minusve esset, conferrent: eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas consensus omnium non iussisse latas magis quam tulisse videri posset.
- 6 Cum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite editos satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo fons omnis publici privatiue est
- 7 iuris. Vulgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas, quibus adiectis, absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani iuris. Ea expectatio, cum dies comitiorum adpropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum creandi fecit. Iam plebs, praeterquam quod consulum nomen haud secus quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium, cedentibus in vicem appellationi decemviris, quaerebat.
- 1 XXXV. Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in  
 2 trinum nundinum indicta sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quoque civitatis — metu, credo, ne tanti possessio imperii, vacuo ab se relicto loco, haud satis dignis pateret — prensarent homines, honorem summa ope a se impugnatum ab ea plebe, cum qua contenderant, suppliciter

4. **Versarent:** = *versate* in dir. disc. **in medium . . . conferrent:** "bring up for open discussion." **plus minusve:** "excessive or inadequate." **non . . . tulisse:** "not so much to have voted their adoption when proposed, as to have proposed them for adoption."

6. **ad rumores . . . editos:** "according to the views expressed." **fons . . . iuris:** they were graven in bronze, posted (57. 10), and according to Cicero (de Leg. 2. 9), even in his time were learned by schoolboys.

8. **cedentibus:** the decemvirs would now allow appeals from one of their number to another, because the *plebs* had waived their constitutional defenders, the tribunes.

XXXV. 1. **in trinum nundinum:** "for the third market day," i.e. after at least seventeen days.

2. **relicto:** conditional. **a se impugnatum:** "which they had formerly opposed," because through it the *plebs* were more likely to gain ground.



- 3 petentes. Demissa iam in discrimen dignitas ea aetate  
iisque honoribus actis stimulabat Ap. Claudium. Nescires,  
utrum inter decemviros an inter candidatos numerares.
- 4 Propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui  
erat: criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levis-  
simum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter
- 5 tribunicios, Duillios Iciliosque, in foro volitare, per illos  
se plebi venditare, donec collegae quoque, qui unice  
illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere in eum oculos,
- 6 mirantes, quid sibi vellet. Apparere nihil sinceri esse;  
profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem  
fore; nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere et vulgari  
cum privatis non tam properantis abire magistratu quam  
viam ad continuandum magistratum quaerentis esse.
- 7 Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum ausi, obsecun-  
dando mollire impetum adgrediuntur. Comitiorum illi  
habendorum, quando minimus natus sit, munus consensu
- 8 iniungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset,  
quod praeter tribunos plebi, et id ipsum pessimo exemplo,  
nemo umquam fecisset.

- Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comitia
- 9 professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit, deiectis-  
que honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino  
et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo  
viro in optimatium causa, et aliis eiusdem fastigii civibus,
- 10 nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat, se

3. *Demissa*, etc.: the fact that a man of his position, in his prime, and one who had been consul and decemvir (*ea . . . actis*), was at all brought in danger of retirement spurred Appius on. *Nescires*: past potential of the indef. second person.

5. *se . . . venditare*: "carried the favor of the Commons."

6. *in tanta superbia comitatem*: "affability in one so haughty." *in ordinem . . . cogere*: "that his

thus reducing himself to the ranks;" after *apparere* and subject of *esse*. *properantis*: pred. poss. gen.

7. *obsecundando*: "by compliance;" the next sentence explains the manner. *illi*: dat. with *intungunt*.

9. *impedimentum*: i.e. what was meant to be an obstacle. *per coitionem*: "by collusion." *fastigii*: "eminence."

in primis, quod haud secus factum improbabant boni,  
 11 quam nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo  
 M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius,  
 Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetilius, T. Antonius Merenda,  
 K. Duillius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M'. Rabuleius.

1 XXXVI. Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit;  
 suo iam inde vivere ingenio coepit, novosque collegas, iam  
 priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare.

2 Cottidie coibant remotis arbitris; inde impotentibus  
 instructi consiliis, quae secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam  
 haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditus, colloquentibus  
 difficiles, ad Idus Maias rem perduxere.

3 Idus tum Maiæ sollemnes ineundis magistratibus  
 erant. Inito igitur magistratu, primum honoris diem  
 denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam  
 cum ita priores decemviri servassent, ut unus fascēs  
 haberet, et hoc insigne regium in orbem suam cuiusque  
 4 bus prodire. Centum viginti lictores forum imple-  
 verant, et cum fascibus secures inligatas praeferabant;  
 nec attinuisse demi securem, cum sine provocatione  
 creati essent, interpretabantur.

5 Decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror  
 non infimis solum, sed primoribus patrum ratis caedis  
 causam ac principium quaeri, ut, si quis memorem  
 libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset,  
 statim virgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum

XXXVI. 1. *alienae* . . . *ferendae*: "of acting a role other than his own."

2. *impotentibus*: "mad." *rari aditus*: descriptive gen. parallel with *difficiles*.

3. *sollemnes*: "customary." The oldest Roman year began Mar. 1: hence September, "the seventh," etc. *honoris*: "tenure of office." *denuntiatione*, etc.: "a demon-

stration that caused great alarm." *suam* . . . *vicem*: "to each in his turn." See on 1. 9. 15.

4. *impleverant*: see on 1. 29. 4. *secures*: since the Lex Valeria (508 B. C.) the fascēs of the consuls when in the city had had no axes, symbolizing power of life and death. *nec attinuisse*: "that it made no difference."

6 expedirentur. Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil erat praesidii sublata provocatione, intercessionem quoque consensu sustulerant, cum priores decemviri appellatione collegae corrigi reddita ab se iura tulissent, et quaedam, quae sui indicii videri possent, ad populum reiecissent.

7 Aliquamdiu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit; paulatim totus vertere in plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a patribus; in humiliores libidinose crudeliterque consulebatur. Hominum, non causarum toti erant, ut apud 8 quos gratia vim aequi haberet. Iudicia domi conflabant, pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellasset, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat, ut paeniteret non 9 prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat non in praesentis modo temporis eos iniuriam conspirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent, perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent imperium.

1 XXXVII. Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus plebei, et inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem timendo in eum statum rem publicam adduxerant. 2 Primores patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem; nec probare, quae fierent, et credere haud indignis accidere; avide ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos iuvare 3 nolle; cumulare quoque iniurias, ut taedio praesentium consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant.

6. **cum . . . tulissent**: "whereas the former decemvirs had allowed their rulings to be corrected by appeal to a colleague."

7. **libidinose**: "arbitrarily."  
**Hominum**: poss. gen. with *toti*; they were wholly "respecters of persons." **gratia**: "powerful influence."

8. **appellasset**: iterative. There was the right of appeal from one

decemvir to another (34. 8), but not to the people (36. 4). **non . . . stetisse**: "that he had not abided by the decision of the first one."

XXXVII. 1. **plebei**: = *plebei*; subject of the hist. inf.

2. **haud indignis**: i.e. the plebians deserved it all. **elapsos**: = *eos, qui elapsi erant*.

3. **in desiderium veniant**: "come to be desired."

- 4 Iam et processerat pars maior anni, et duae tabulae legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adiectae, nec quicquam iam supererat, si eae quoque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatae essent, cur eo magistratu rei
- 5 publicae opus esset. Expectabant, quam mox consuli- bus creandis comitia edicerentur. Id modo plebes agita- bat, quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimen- tum libertati, rem intermissam, repararent, cum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri.
- 1 XXXVIII. Idus Maiae venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, privati pro decemviris, neque animis ad imperium inhibendum imminutis neque ad speciem honoris insignibus, prodeunt. Id vero regnum haud dubie videri.
- 2 Deploratur in perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quisquam existit aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos, sed contemni coepti erant a finitimis populis, imperiumque ibi esse, ubi non esset libertas, indigna- bantur.
- 3 Sabini magna manu incursionem in agrum Romanum fecere, lateque populati, cum hominum atque pecudum inulti praedas egissent, recepto ad Eretum, quod passim vagatum erat, agmine castra locant, spem in discordia Romana ponentes: eam impedimentum dilectui fore.
- 4 Non nuntii solum, sed per urbem agrestium fuga trepi- dationem iniecit. Decemviri consultant, quid opus facto sit, destituti inter patrum et plebis odia, addit terrorem
- 5 insuper alium fortuna. Aequi alia ex parte castra in

5. *intermissam*: cf. 34. 8. *fieri*: the hist. inf. after *cum* is in the style of Sallust.

XXXVIII. 1. *subrogatis*: = *creatis*. *privati*: because their term of office had expired. *imminutis*: with *insignibus* as well as with *animis*. *regnum*: for their feeling against this, cf. 2. 1. 9, and 2. 7.

2. *ipsi*: the citizens. *indigna-*

*bantur*: the *finitimi populi* felt that Rome should not exercise *imperium* over them, if she could not preserve her own freedom.

3. *hominum, pecudum*: appo- sit. gen. with *praedas*. See on 1. 13. 2. *eam*: for *id*, since the dem. pron. is regularly attracted to the predicate. See on 2. 10. 2.

Algido locant, depopulanturque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum. Legati ea ab Tusculo praesidium orantes nuntiant.

- 1 XLII. Nihilo militiae quam domi melius res publica
- 2 administrata est. Illa modo in ducibus culpa, quod, ut
- odio essent civibus, fecerant; alia omnis penes milites noxia
- erat, qui, ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum
- 3 illorum dedecus patiebantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad
- 6 Eretum et in Algido ab Aequis exercitus erant. Romam
- tanti erant terrores adlati, ut posito iam decemvirali
- odio patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent, omnes,
- qui per aetatem arma ferre possent, custodire moenia
- 7 ac pro portis stationes agere iuberent, arma Tusculum
- ac supplementum decernerent, decemvirosque ab arce
- Tusculi degressos in castris militem habere; castra alia
- a Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri, belloque ultro
- inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandae.
- 1 XLIII. Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda
- 2 facinora decemviri belli domique adiciunt. L. Siccium in
- Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creandorum
- secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum sermonibus
- occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris
- 3 capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus, quos mise-

*XLII. Such an invasion by the Sabines and the Aequians simultaneously led the decemvirs to consult with the senate. The greatest difficulty was experienced in summoning the scattered and reluctant senators. In the stormy session that followed there was more discussion of the state, with thrusts at the decemvirs, than of measures for repressing the enemy. A levy, however, was at length voted, but the disaffected troops were readily defeated.*

2. *noxia*: for variety after *culpa*.  
6. *terrores*: "alarming news," the plur. referring to two defeats.

7. *Tusculum*: sc. *mitti*. *ultro*: an offensive campaign was to be the best defense.

XLIII. 1. *belli domique*: reverse of usual order to emphasize the unseasonableness of their conduct.

2. *per*: "taking advantage of." Cf. 1. 11. 1. *secessionis*: doubtless suggested by their being near Mons Sacer (2. 32).

- rant expeditionis eius comites, ut eum opportuno adorti  
 4 loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecere; nam circa  
 repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, cum ipse se  
 praevalidus pari viribus animo circumventus tutaretur.  
 5 Nuntiant in castra ceteri praecipitatum in insidias esse;  
 Siccium egregie pugnans militesque quosdam cum eo  
 6 amissos. Primo fides nuntiantibus fuit; profecta deinde  
 cohors ad sepeliendos qui ceciderant decemvirorum per-  
 missu, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus Sicciumque  
 in medio iacentem armatum, omnibus in eum versis  
 corporibus, videre, hostium neque corpus ullum nec  
 vestigia abeuntium, profecto ab suis interfectum me-  
 7 morantes rettulere corpus. Invidiaeque plena castra erant,  
 et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat, ni decemviri  
 funus militare ei publica impensa facere maturassent.  
 Sepultus ingenti militum maestitia, pessima decem-  
 virorum in vulgus fama est.

- 1 XLIV. Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas ab libidine ortum,  
 haud minus foedo eventu, quam quod per stuprum  
 caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinius expulerat,  
 ut non finis solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed  
 causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset.

- Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido  
 2 cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, honestum ordinem  
 in Alcido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque.  
 Perinde uxor instituta fuerat, liberique instituebantur.

4. **Haud inultum**: "not without telling resistance." **circa**: = *circum*. **pari . . . animo**: "with a courage equal to his strength."

6. **videre . . . rettulere**: agreement according to sense.

7. **est**: with *sepultus*.

XLIV-XLVIII. 7. XLIX. LI. 11-13.

THE STORY OF VERGINIA;  
 HER PERSECUTION BY AP-  
 PIUS.

XLIV. 1. **expulerat**: i.e. had caused their expulsion; brachylogy.

2. **honestum ordinem . . . ducebat**: "was serving as a centurion with distinction." **liberique**: but at 45. 9 Verginia is *unica filia*. Cf. Gell. 2. 13 *antiqui etiam unum filium filiamve "liberos" appellarunt*. The German "Welb und Kind" is the reverse practice.

- 3 Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri et pro  
 4 causa plebis expertae virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam,  
 forma excellentem Appius amore amens pretio ac spe  
 perlicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore saepta animad-  
 vertit, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit.  
 5 M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servi-  
 tutem adsereret neque cederet secundum libertatem  
 postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellae abesset,  
 6 locum iniuriae esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum —  
 ibi namque in tabernis litterarum ludi erant — minister  
 decemviri libidinis manum iniecit, serva sua natam  
 servamque appellans sequique se iubebat: cunctantem  
 7 vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente, ad clamorem  
 nutricis fidem Quiritium implorantis fit concursus. Ver-  
 gini patris sponsique Icili populare nomen celebratur.  
 Notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini con-  
 8 ciliat. Iam a vi tuta erat, cum adsertor nihil opus esse  
 multitudo concitata ait: se iure grassari, non vi. Vocat  
 9 puellam in ius. Auctoribus qui aderant, ut sequeretur,  
 ad tribunal Appi perventum est. Notam iudici fabulam

3. **Desponderat**: the compound is regular, the girl being promised away from her own home.

4. **amore amens**: "senselessly sensual."

5. **in servitutum adsereret**: "claim as his slave." The term is a legal one, representing originally an actual struggle for the property. **neque . . . vindicias**: "and not yield to those demanding her liberation meantime." In a case affecting personal freedom the presumption of the XII Tables, which the decemvirs themselves had made, was in favor of liberty (*secundum libertatem*) until the ownership could be established. **quod . . . abesset**: after *ratus*.

6. **litterarum ludi**: these schools were privately kept in some of the

small shops (*tabernae*) on the N. and S. sides of the Forum. Both sexes might attend and the pupil was regularly accompanied by a servant (*nutricis*, 7). **manum iniecit**: the legal phrase for formal arrest.

8. **adsertor**: "claimant" (*petitor* in 9). **iure grassari**: further defined by *Vocat in ius*. Legally Verginia, whether considered as a maiden under the control of her father (*in patria potestate*) or as the subject of the suit, could not be the defendant. Livy uses regular legal terms for a high-handed process, meant to have only the semblance of justice.

9. **Auctoribus**: sc. *tis*, abl. abs. **suppositam . . . esse**: "had been foisted upon him."

petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, per-  
 agit: puellam domi suae natam furtoque inde in domum  
 10 Vergini translata suppositam ei esse; id se indicio com-  
 pertum adferre probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice,  
 ad quem maior pars iniuriae eius pertineat; interim  
 11 dominum sequi ancillam aequum esse. Advocati puellae,  
 cum Verginium rei publicae causa dixissent abesse, biduo  
 12 adfuturum, si nuntiatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem  
 de liberis dimicare, postulant, ut rem integram in patris  
 adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias det secun-  
 dum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famae  
 prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

1 XLV. Appius decreto praefatur: quam libertati faverit,  
 eam ipsam legem declarare, quam Vergini amici postula-  
 2 tionis suae praetendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum libertati  
 fore praesidium, si nec causis nec personis variet; in  
 iis enim, qui adserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege  
 agere possit, id iuris esse; in ea, quae in patris manu  
 sit, neminem esse alium, cui dominus possessione cedat;  
 3 placere itaque patrem arcessiri, interea iuris sui iacturam  
 adsertorem non facere, quin ducat puellam sistendamque  
 in adventum eius, qui pater dicatur, promittat.

4 Adversus iniuriam decreti cum multi magis fremerent,  
 quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius,

10. **dominum**: emphatic position, assuming too, as does *ancillam*, the point in issue.

11. **Advocati**: *de notis* and *auctores* above (7; 9).

XLV. 1. **praefatur**: "states by way of preface." His decision begins with *placere* (3). **quam** . . . **faverit**: indir. quest. after *declarare*. **praetendant**: "cite in support of."

2. **variet**: sc. *lex* from *in ea*. **id iuris esse**: i.e. the presumption of freedom before the decision. Appius makes the case turn upon whether the subject has attained legal inde-

pendence. For persons thus *in sua potestate* any one could plead (*quivis lege agere possit*). A maiden was not *in sua potestate*, but *in patria potestate*. If, therefore, she were claimed by an alleged *dominus* in her father's absence, no one could legally dispute the claimant's possession of her until her father did it on his return. The purpose of this sophistry and its danger as a precedent are equally obvious.

3. **arcessiri**: archaic for *arcessi*. **sistendam**: rather awkward for *sisturum esse*, which is a rare form.



puellae avus, et sponsus Icilius interveniunt; dataque  
 5 inter turbam via, cum multitudo Icili maxime inter-  
 ventu resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor decresse ait,  
 6 vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque  
 ingenium tam atrox iniuria accendisset. 'Ferro hinc tibi  
 submovendus sum, Appi', inquit, 'ut tacitum feras, quod  
 celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus nuptamque  
 7 pudicam habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque  
 lictores convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube; non  
 8 manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non, si tri-  
 bunicium auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanae,  
 duas arces libertatis tuendae, ademistis, ideo in liberos  
 quoque nostros coniugesque regnum vestrae libidini  
 9 datum est. Saevite in tergum et in cervices nostras;  
 pudicitia saltem in tuto sit! Huic si vis adferetur, ego  
 praesentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum  
 pro unica filia, omnes deorum hominumque implora-  
 bimus fidem, neque tu istud umquam decretum sine  
 10 caede nostra referes. Postulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam  
 11 consideres, quo progrediare. Verginius viderit de filia,  
 ubi venerit, quid agat; hoc tantum sciat, sibi, si huius  
 vindiciis cesserit, condicionem filiae quaerendam esse.  
 Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita citius deseret  
 quam fides.'

1 XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat, certamenque instare  
 videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra  
 2 minas tamen processum est, cum Appius non Verginiam

5. **resisti** . . . **Appio**: "Appius could be checked." **decesse**: the lictor's terse statement, *decrevit*, or *Appium iam decrevisse*, was meant to be final.

6. **Placidum quoque**: to say nothing of Icilius, who was *vir acer* (44. 3). **tacitum feras**: sc. *id*; a colloquialism, "get off without its being commented upon."

9. **referes**: "repeat, insist upon."

11. **viderit**: pf. subj. in excited exhortation (see on l. 23. 8); prohibition with this tense is more common. **de filia**, etc.: the prolepsis shows his haste. Verginius will act from a father's point of view, Icilius from a lover's. **condicionem**: "match."

XLVI. 2. **tribunatum** . . . **spirantem**: to the aristocrats the tribunes were "anarchists."

defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem locum seditionis quaerere diceret.

- 3 Non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam; sed ut iam sciret non id petulantiae suae, sed Verginio absenti et patrio nomini et libertati datum, ius eo die se non dicturum, neque decretum interpositurum; a M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet iure suo vindicareque puellam in posterum
- 4 diem pateretur; quod nisi pater postero die adfuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque Icili, neque legi suae latorem neque decemviro constantiam defore. Nec se utique collegarum lictores convocaturum ad coercendos seditionis auctores; contentum se suis lictoribus fore.
- 5 Cum dilatum tempus iniuriae esset secessissentque advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icili filiumque Numitori, impigros iuvenes, pergere inde recta ad portam, et, quantum accelerari posset, Verginium
- 6 acciri e castris: in eo verti puellae salutem, si postero die vindex iniuriae ad tempus praesto esset. Iussi pergunt citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem perferunt.
- 7 Cum instaret adsertor puellae, ut vindicaret sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius sedulo tempus terens, dum praeciperent iter nuntii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se quisque
- 8 paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus 'gratum est' inquit; 'crastina die vestra opera utar, sponsorum nunc satis est.' Ita vindicatur Virginia spondentibus propinquis.
- 9 Appius paulisper moratus, ne eius rei causa sedisse

3. **id . . . datum:** "this concession was made." **ius . . . dicturum:** more narrowly defined by *decretum interpositurum*, "issue an interim decree." The action of 45. 3 is, therefore, withdrawn. **vindicari:** sc. *in libertatem*.

5. **recta:** sc. *via*. **e castris:** on Algidus (44. 2), some fifteen miles

S. E. of Rome.

7. **instaret:** sc. *Icilio*. **sponsoresque daret:** "give bondsmen" for her reappearance. **tempus terens:** "spinning out the time," because, as *praeciperent* too implies, Appius will send messengers to the camp as soon as he can quit the court. Cf. 9.

9. **sedisse:** sc. *in tribunali*.

videretur, postquam omissis rebus aliis prae cura unius nemo adibat, domum se recepit, collegisque in castra scribit, ne Verginio commeatum dent, atque etiam in  
 10 custodia habeant. Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit, et iam commeatu sumpto profectus Verginius prima vigilia erat, cum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequiquam litterae redduntur.

- 1 XLVII. At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro expectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam secum obsolet aveste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum  
 2 ingenti ad vocatione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit, et non orare solum precariam opem, sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac coniugibus cottidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse, cuius strenue ac fortiter facta in bello plura memorari possent; quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae capta  
 3 ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Haec prope contionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab  
 4 Icilio iactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius — tanta vis amentiae verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat — in tribunal escendit, et ultro querente pauca petitor, quod ius sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret aut Verginio respondendi daretur locus,

10. **redduntur**: "is delivered," i.e. given up to the one addressed.

XLVII. 1. **sordidatus**, etc.: see on 1. 10. 1. **matronis**: perhaps brought in to prove the circumstances of Verginia's birth. **advocatione**: = *multitudine advocatorum*.

2. **precariam**: as something granted in answer to his *preces*; in opposition to *pro debita* (sc. *ope*). **facta**: substantive, but the verbal idea is present strongly enough to justify the adverbs; literally, "deeds

done." **prodesse**: (sc. *itis*): the rhetorical question is expressed by the infin. in indir. disc. **si**, etc.: = *si incolumi urbe ea ultima liberis suis sint patienda, quae capta urbe timeantur*.

4. **plus . . . movebat**: "produced more effect." **verius quam**: frequent in Livy for *magis quam*. Cf. 9. 17. 16. **ultro**: see on 1. 5. 3. **ius sibi . . . dictum**: "a verdict in his favor." Cf. 45. 3 and 46. 3.

- 5 Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsitan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint; quia nusquam ullum in tanta foeditate decreti veri similem invenio, id, quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum, decresse vindicias secundum servitutem.
- 6 Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein, cum M. Claudius circumstantibus matronis iret ad prendendam virginem lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio ex-
- 7 cepisset, Verginius intentans in Appium manus 'Icilio' inquit, 'Appi, non tibi filiam despondi et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Passurine haec isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma habent.'
- 8 Cum repelleretur adsertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem.
- 1 XLVIII. Decemvir, alienatus ad libidinem animo, negat ex hesterno tantum convicio Icili violentiaque Vergini, cuius testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis compertum se habere nocte tota coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem.
- 2 Itaque se haud inscium eius dimicationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro maiestate imperii coerceret.
- 3 'Proinde quiesce erit melius; i' inquit, 'licitor, submove turbam et da viam domino ad prendendum mancipium'!

5. in tanta foeditate decreti: "in so shameful a decree;" a sort of half way stage in forming hendiadys. nudum: Livy gives the bare decree without a preface to justify it since he finds none that is plausible (*veri similem*).

7. isti: those looking on.

XLVIII. 1. alienatus animo: "beside himself." ad: causal. negat . . . tantum: = *dicit non*

. . . tantum. compertum . . . habere: analytical perfect for *compertit*; the original of the Romance and English perfects.

2. descendisse: sc. *in forum*. Cf. "down town," especially when the residential districts are on hills as at Rome.

3. deserta: note the position of the predicate and of the appositional phrase.

- Cum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit, desertaque praeda iniuriae puella stabat.
- 4 Tum Verginius, ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, 'quaeso' inquit, 'Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quo inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc rei sit, ut, si falso
- 5 pater dictus sum, aequiore hinc animo discedam.' Data venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae ad tabernas, quibus nunc novis est nomen, atque ibi ab Ianio cultro arrepto 'hoc te uno quo possum' ait 'modo, filia, in libertatem vindico.' Pectus deinde puellae transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal 'te' inquit, 'Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro.'
- 6 Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius comprehendit Verginium iubet. Ille ferro quacumque ibat viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequentium
- 7 tuente ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsanguis corpus sublatum ostendant populo; scelus Appi, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant.
- 1 XLIX. Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris,
- 2 partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem arripi, postremo, cum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum iuvenum per turbam
- 3 vadens in vincula duci iubet. Iam circa Icilium non solum multitudo, sed duces quoque multitudinis erant,

4. **quo**: the indefinite as abl. of measure of difference; "in any way too severely."

5. **prope Cloacinae**: see on l. 41. 4. This epithet of Venus, the "purifying one," is from an archaic *cluere* = *purgare*. **novis**: in contrast with the *veteres tabernae* on the south side of the Forum. **ab Ianio**: i.e. from a butcher's shop.

7. **infelicem**: her beauty was unhappily her undoing.

XLIX. 1. **sceleris**: the act of Appius (cf. 48. 7.). **repetendae libertatis**: by abolishing the arbitrary decemvirs.

3. **privato**: i.e. from Appius. See on 38. 1. **hinc**, etc.: observe the effect in the succession of short clauses. See *Introd. V.*

- L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lictore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant; si vim adferre conaretur, ibi quoque haud impares fore. Hinc  
 4 atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; franguntur a multitudine fascēs. In contionem Appius escendit; sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque.  
 5 Eos contio audit; decemviro obstrepitur. Iam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores iubebat, cum fractis animis Appius vitae metuens in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto recipit.
- 6 Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte inrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis, atque ex omni parte adsentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat; senatum postremo  
 7 vocari iussit. Ea res, quod magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per Senatum  
 8 finiendae potestatis eius multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem irritandam censuit et multo magis providendum, ne quid Verginii adventus in exercitu motus faceret.
- 11 LI. Patres solliciti de summa rerum, cum senatus cottidie esset, iurgiis saepius terunt tempus quam con-

4. **In contionem**: here an elevated place from which an assembly might be addressed. **sequuntur**: "follow suit," taking another part of the Forum.

5. **pro imperio**: as if he were vested with the *imperium*. **cum** . . . **recipit**: an inverted *cum* clause, hence the indicative. **in domum**: not his own house. Cf. 48. 2.

6. **Agitatus**, etc.: "distracted then by the counsels offered, and listening to the many suggestions from all quarters."

8. **ne . . . faceret**: despite this

precaution of the senate a great commotion was aroused in the army at Mt. Algidus when Verginius arrived with the story of his wrongs. The troops in rebellious spirit marched to Rome and took their position on the Aventine, determined to recover liberty and secure the election of tribunes for the Commons. In this move they were presently joined by the other division of the army (42. 3), which had been stirred to action by Icilius and Numitorius.

LI. 11. **Sicci caedes**: cf. 43.

- 12 siliis. Sicci caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et dedecora militiae obiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus eius,
- 13 quo anno iam ante abissent. Decemviri, quereutes se in ordinem cogi, non ante quam perlatis legibus, quarum causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.
- 1 LII. Per M. Duillium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs contentionibus adsiduis nihil transigi,
- 2 in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, adfirmante Duillio non prius, quam deseri urbem videant, curam in animos patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae plebis, sciturosque sine restituta potestate
- 3 tribunicia redigi in concordiam resne queant. Via Nomentana, cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit, profecti castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs,
- 4 nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset, retractante. Prosequuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe, in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset, miserabiliter rogantes.
- 1 LIII. Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem conditionibus, quibus videretur, revocandam componendasque res, decemviris quoque ab ira et impetu multitudinis praecavere iubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis

12. *militiae*: genitive. *quo . . . abissent*: "from which they should have passed certainly the year before." Cf. 38. 1. The subjunctive is one of unfulfilled propriety.

LII. 1-4. LIII-LIV. 6. *SECESSION OF THE PLEBS; THE DECENVIRS RETIRE FROM OFFICE*.

LII. 2. *admoniturum*: sc. *patres*, which suggests the subject of *scituros*. *resne queant*: the indirect question after *scire* is rare,

but cf. 6. 25. 8.

3. *in monte Sacro*: usually *Sacer mons* in Livy, a conventional order such as *Sacra via*. *modestiam patrum*: the self-restraint of the first secession. Cf. 2. 32. 4. *plebs*: those outside of the army.

LIII. 1. *Valerius Horatiusque*: after some debate in the city, the decemvirs agreed to retire from office and these champions of the *plebs* (49, 3 and 4) were sent to recall the seceders.

- in castra accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubie et motus initio et exitu rei. Ob haec iis advenientibus
- 3 gratiae actae. Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem, cum de condicionibus ageretur, quaerentibus legatis, quae postulata plebis essent, composito iam ante adventum legatorum consilio ea postulavit, ut appareret in aequitate rerum plus quam in armis reponi
- 4 spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationemque repetebant, quae ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset concisae milites aut plebem
- 5 ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem. De decemvirorum modo supplicio atrox postulatum fuit: dedi quippe eos aequum censebant, vivosque igni concrematurus minabantur.
- 6 Legati ad ea: 'quae consilii fuerunt, adeo aequa postulastis, ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; libertati enim ea praesidia petitis, non licentiae ad impugnandos
- 7 alios. Irae vestrae magis ignoscendum quam indulgendum est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis et prius paene, quam ipsi liberi sitis, dominari
- 8 iam in adversarios vultis. Numquamne quiescet civitas nostra a suppliciis aut patrum in plebem Romanam
- 9 aut plebis in patres? Scuto vobis magis quam gladio opus est. Satis superque humilis est, qui iure aequo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo iniuriam nec patiendo.
- 10 Etiam si quando metuendos vos praebituri estis, cum recipieratis magistratibus legibusque vestris iudicia penes vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc ut quaeque causa erit statuetis; nunc libertatem repeti satis est.'

4. *fraudi esset*: "work injury," the old legal sense of *fraus*. Cf. 1. 47. 9.

6. *consilii*: pred. poss. gen. The contrast is with *irae* (7).

9. *scuto . . . gladio*: referring metaphorically to the last state-

ment in 6. *humilis*: the condition of a decemvir out of office is suggested.

10. *metuendos*: i.e. by taking up the question of punishment. *statuetis*: used as a familiar imperative.



- 1 LIV. *Facerent* ut *vellent* *permittentibus* *cunctis*,  
 mox *redituros* se *legati* *rebus* *perfectis* *adfirmant*.  
 2 *Profecti* cum *mandata* *plebis* *patribus* *exposuissent*, *alii*  
*decemviri*, quando *quidem* *praeter* *spem* *ipsorum* *sup-*  
*plicii* *sui* *nulla* *mentio* *fieret*, *haud* *quicquam* *abnuere*;  
 3 *Appius*, *truci* *ingenio* et *invidia* *praecipua*, *odium* in  
 se *aliorum* *suo* in *eos* *metiens* *odio* 'haud *ignaro*' inquit  
 4 'imminet *fortuna*. *Video*, *donec* *arma* *adversariis* *tra-*  
*dantur*, *differri* *adversus* *nos* *certamen*. *Dandus* *invi-*  
*diae* *est* *sanguis*. *Nihil* *ne* *ego* *quidem* *moror*, *quo* *minus*  
 5 *decemviratu* *abeam*.' *Factum* *senatus* *consultum*, *ut*  
*decemviri* *se* *primo* *quoque* *tempore* *magistratu* *abdi-*  
*carent*, *Q. Furius* *pontifex* *maximus* *tribunos* *plebis*  
*crearet*, *et* *ne* *cui* *fraudi* *esset* *secessio* *militum* *plebisque*.  
 6 *His* *senatus* *consultis* *perfectis* *dimisso* *senatu* *decem-*  
*viri* *prodeunt* *in* *contionem*, *abdicantque* *se* *magistratu*  
*ingenti* *hominum* *laetitia*.

LIV. 1. *Facerent*: the usual *ut* after *permittere* has been more readily omitted because of *ut velent*.

2. *alii*: = *ceteri*, anticipating *Appius*. *spem*: "expectation." The word often has less color than in the ordinary translation "hope."

3. *truci ingenio et invidia praecipua*: "a man of harsh nature and an especial object of hatred."  
*ignaro*: sc. *mihi*.

4. *donec*: "only until."

5. *primo quoque tempore*: — *quam primum*, as often in Livy.

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER V.

- 6 XXXII. Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos  
7 adventare. Id, ut fit, propter auctoris humilitatem spretum et quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat. Neque deorum modo monita ingruente fato sprete, sed humanam quoque opem, quae una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere.
- 1 XXXIII. Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi clade legati ab Clusinis veniunt auxilium  
2 adversus Gallos petentes. Eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum maximeque vini, nova tum

XXXII. 6. 7. XXXIII. 1-4. XXXV. 4-XLIX. THE GAULS INVADE ITALY AND CAPTURE ROME.

*Tradition represents this first Gallic incursion as early as 390 B. C.; all but the citadel at Rome was captured and the records destroyed. The expediency party of the day even urged abandoning the site and removing to Veii, but Camillus in an impassioned speech saved the day.*

6. Eodem anno: 386 B. C. according to Livy's chronology. de plebe:

sc. homo. Cf. 1. 9. 11. **sacellum**: erected later to expiate their neglect of the Voice.

7. **M. Furium**: sc. *Camillum*. He had been signally honored politically, and Livy calls him *dux maximus imperatorum omnium* in his day. (23. 1.)

XXXIII. 1. **quo manente**: = *qui, si tum maneret*. **quicquam** . . . **certi**: *certum* would be better. **fatali**: "predestined." **Clusinis**: Clusium in east central Etruria had been besieged by the Gauls on their way southward.

2. **possedissee**: from *possido*.

voluptate, captam Alpes transisse agrosque ab Etruscis  
 3 ante cultos possedisse; et invexisse in Galliam vinum  
 inlicienda gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum ira cor-  
 ruptae uxoris ab Lucumone, cui tutor ipse fuerat, prae-  
 potente iuvene et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa  
 4 vis quaesita esset, nequirent; hunc transeuntibus Alpes  
 ducem auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse.

4 XXXV. Clusini novo bello exterriti, cum multitu-  
 dinem, cum formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et  
 genus armorum, audirentque saepe ab iis cis Padum  
 ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam adversus  
 Romanos nullum eis ius societatis amicitiaeve erat, nisi  
 quod Veientes consanguineos adversus populum Roma-  
 num non defendissent, legatos Romam, qui auxilium  
 5 ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil impetra-  
 tum; legati tres M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus  
 populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, ne, a  
 quibus nullam iniuriam accepissent, socios populi Romani  
 6 atque amicos oppugnarent: Romanis eos bello quoque,  
 si res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum  
 amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius  
 cognosci quam armis.

1 XXXVI. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallis-  
 que magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus,  
 postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum,  
 2 datur responsum: etsi novum nomen audiant Romano-  
 rum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium  
 3 a Clusinis in re trepida sit imploratum; et quoniam  
 legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios,

3. *ira . . . uxoris*: see on 1. 5. 3.  
*cui . . . fuerat*: see on *quo*, 2. 32. 11.

XXXV. 4. *adversus Romanos*:  
 = *cum Romanis*.

5. *legati . . . missi*: with ad-  
 versative force. *socios*, etc.: but  
 see *nullum ius* (4). The Romans,  
 however, may have made a hurried

alliance.

6. *cogat . . . posset*: changed  
 point of view. Cf. *negetur . . .*  
*possent* (36. 4).

XXXVI. 1. *mitis . . . ni*: see  
 on 1. 48. 9.

3. *aliter*: a diplomatic *et*  
*minus*.

ne se quidem pacem, quam illi adferant, aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium concedant; aliter pacem  
 4 impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis accipere velle, et, si negetur ager, coram iisdem Romanis dimicatu-  
 5 ros, ut nuntiare domum possent, quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent.

5 Quodnam id ius esset, agrum a possessoribus petere aut minari arma, Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset, cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque animis ad arma discurritur et proelium con-  
 6 seritur. Ibi, iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis, legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit, cum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum  
 7 eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius evectus extra aciem equo ducem Gallorum, ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem, per latus transfixum hasta occidit; spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem Romanum legatum esse signum datum est.

8 Omissa inde in Clusinos ira, receptui canunt minantes Romanis. Erant, qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores, ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatūque, ut pro iure gentium violato  
 9 Fabii dederentur. Legati Gallorum cum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et ius postulare barbari videbantur; sed ne id, quod placebat, decerneret in tantae nobilitatis viris,

6. **ius gentium**: made up of principles common to all *gentes*, it especially provided that *legati* were inviolable and neutral.

8. **vicere seniores**: "the older

heads prevailed (with the advice)."

9. **ambitio obstabat**: "policy prevented." The Fabii were prominent people.

10 ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa esset, si clades forent Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatibus Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valere, ut, quorum de poena agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in in-  
 11 quentem annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus, quam dignum erat, infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus  
 12 Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, P. Cornelius Maluginensis.

1 XXXVII. Cum tanta moles mali instaret — adeo obcaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult —, civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea tunc, invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extra-  
 3 ordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesivit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum praeerant, dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem, quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant.

4 Interim Galli, postquam accepere ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira, cuius impotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis citato agmine iter ingrediuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore signi-

10. **quorum**: = *ii, quorum*.

XXXVII. 1. **tanta moles mali**: "danger of such magnitude." **ultima . . . auxilia**: "using the last extreme of help."

2. **nihil**, etc.: Livy exaggerates in his fatalistic account. Polybius

2. 18. 2. mentions allies.

3. **media**: "ordinary."

4. **ultro**: see on 1. 5. 3. **impotens**: "without control."

5. **ad . . . tumultum**: causal. The *tum. Gallicus* became proverbial. **immensum**: see Introd. V. 2. a.

ficabant, quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac  
 6 late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed antecedente fama nuntiisque Clusinatorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit, quippe quibus, velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto, aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Alia, Crustuminis montibus praealto defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Iam omnia contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.

1 XXXVIII. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec auspicato nec litato instruunt aciem diductam in cornua,  
 2 ne circumveniri multitudine hostium possent; nec tamē aequari frontes poterant, cum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleti placuit; eaque res ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus  
 3 fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa  
 4 convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam

7. **lapidem**: "milestone." **occursum est**: impersonal. After *quippe qui* causal as here the subjunctive is more common.

8. **truci**, etc.: cf. Caes. B. G. 5. 37. 3 *more suo ululatum tollunt*.

XXXVIII. 1. **non . . . saltem**: — *ne . . . quidem*. Before the *si* clause it is especially emphatic.

**litato**: here merely of offering sacrifice without implying its acceptance.

3. **Brennus**: a Latinized form of the Celtic *bran*, "prince." See on 2. 9. 1. **in paucitate . . . timens**: i.e. so few were in sight that he feared some stratagem.

4. **si . . . depulisset**: render after *haud dubius*. **superanti**: sc. *sibi*.

- fore; adeo non fortuna modo, sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaque occupaverat animos, et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo maior pars Veios, in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam viderent, non modo non temptato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem reddito integri intactique fugerunt. Nec ulla caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine in turba impredientium fugam. Circa ripam Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est, multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves lorice aliisque tegminibus, hausere gurgites. Maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios perfugit, unde non modo praesidii quicquam, sed ne nuntius quidem cladis Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petiere, et ne clausis quidem portis urbis in arcem confugerunt.
- XXXIX. Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt velut ignari, quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare; tum demum, postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi cum praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non

5. *altera*: the Roman.

6. *proximis*: so-called dat. of agent.

7. *suomet . . . certamine*: "by the struggle within their own ranks." *ipsorum* is in appos. with the gen. idea

in *suomet*.

XXXIX. 1. *Gallos*: the position marks the change in narrative. Cf. *Romani* (4). *victoriae*: appos. gen. *vereri*: hist. infin.

armatos esse in muris rettulissent, aliud priori simile  
 3 miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae  
 situm urbis inter Romam atque Anienem consedere,  
 exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas,  
 quatenam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent.

4 Romani, cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam  
 Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos, qui  
 Romam refugerant, crederet, complorati omnes pariter  
 vivi mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt.

5 Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, post-  
 quam hostes adesse nuntiatum est; mox ululatus can-  
 tusque dissonos, vagantibus circa moenia turmatim

6 barbaris, audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita  
 tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem  
 iam in urbem futurus videretur impetus; primo adven-  
 tus, quia accesserant ad urbem — mansuros enim ad

7 Aliam fuisse, nisi hoc consilii foret —; deinde sub occasum  
 solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante noctem  
 rati invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse,  
 quo plus pavoris inferrent; postremo lux adpropinquans

8 exanimare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens  
 fuit, cum signa infesta portis sunt inlata. Nequaquam  
 tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi, quae  
 9 ad Aliam tam pavide fugerat, civitas fuit. Nam cum  
 defendi urbem posse tam parva relicta manu spes nulla

3. **ignotae**: = *ignotum*, by hypallage. **aliasque portas**: "and likewise the various gates." See on 1. 20. 3. **quatenam . . . consilia essent**: indir. question after the idea in *exploratoribus*.

5. **publicus**: objective.

6. **iam . . . futurus**: "just on the point of being made." **adventus**, etc.: the fact of their coming on to the city in haste pointed to an immediate attack, likewise the late hour of the day.

7. **rati**, etc.: = *cum rerentur impetum futurum (= invasuros) esse ante noctem*. The reference in *rati* is obvious, and its introduction determines the form of the *tum* clause. **exanimare**: cf. *vereri*. (1).

8. **timorique . . . fuit**: "the blow itself followed hard upon their continued fear of it."

9. **in arcem Capitoliumque**: the northern and southern points respectively of the Capitoline.



esset, placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem  
 10 militare senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque  
 concedere, armisque et frumento conlatò, ex loco inde  
 munito deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defen-  
 11 dere; flaminem sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a  
 caede, ab incendiis procul auferre nec ante deseri cul-  
 12 tum deorum, quam non superessent, qui colerent. Si  
 arx Capitoliumque, sedes deorum, si senatus, caput  
 publici consilii, si militaris iuventus superfuerit im-  
 minenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse seniorum  
 13 relictæ in urbe utique peritura turbæ. Et quo id æquiore  
 animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales con-  
 sularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obituros, nec  
 his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam  
 possent, oneratos inopiam armatorum.

1 XL. Hæc inter seniores morti destinatos iactata  
 solacia. Versæ inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum,  
 quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequabantur,  
 commendantes virtuti eorum iuventæque urbis per  
 trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis, quæ-  
 2 cumque reliqua esset fortuna. Digredientibus, qui spem  
 omnem atque opem secum ferebant, ab iis, qui captæ  
 3 urbis non superesse statuerant exitio, cum ipsa res  
 speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et con-  
 cursatio incerta nunc hos nunc illos sequentium rogitan-  
 tiumque viros natosque, cui se fato darent, nihil, quod  
 4 humani superesset mali, relinquebant. Magna pars

10. *inde*: temporal.

11. *flaminem*: cf. 40. 7.

12. *turbæ*: with *iacturam* and explained by *seniorum*. Cf. 41. 1.

13. *quo*: = *ut eo*. *id*: neut. of loose reference to the destruction.

XL. *The vividness of the following narrative, its masterly treatment, should be compared with 1. 29.*

1. *iuventæque*: a pathetic word from the *seniores*.

2. *captæ . . . exitio*: "the capture and destruction of the city."

3. *muliebris*: = *mulierum* with which *sequentium rogitantiumque* agree. *quod superesset*: "which could have remained." Past potential.

4. *quod utile*: viz., forbidding shelter to non-combatants.

- tamen earum in arcem suos persecutae sunt, nec prohibente ullo nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam imbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno petiit Ianiculum.
- 6 Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque spem, sua consilia communibus deploratis sequentes.
- 7 Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales, omissa rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae, quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, relinquenda essent, consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli adservaturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt via, quae sublicio ponte ducit ad Ianiculum.
- 9 In eo clivo eas cum L. Albinus, de plebe homo, conspexisset, plaustrum coniugem ac liberos avehens inter ceteram turbam, quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat,
- 10 salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum, religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plaustrum imposuit et Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.
- 1 XLI. Romae interim satis iam omnibus, ut in tali loco, ad tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum domos regressi adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo

6. *suam quisque spem*: "their various hopes."

8. *despui religio*: "a sacrilege to spit." *sublicio ponte*: reverse of usual order without apparent reason. See on 1. 12. 6.

9. *clivo*: see on 1. 48. 6.

10. *religiosum*: emphatic; see on 8. *Caere*: an Etrurian town, whence *caeremoniae* is said to be derived because the Vestals were kindly received there.

XLI. 1. *ut*: restrictive. See on 1. 18. 1.

- 2 expectabant. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphantibusve, ea vestiti medio aedium
- 3 eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt, qui M. Folio pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant.
- 4 Galli, et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos, et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam belli
- 5 speciem tenentem. Inde modico relicto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occurso hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima, velut ea
- 6 demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt. Inde rursus ipsa solitudine, absteriti, ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati
- 7 redibant; ubi eos plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis principum maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta
- 8 quam clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestâte etiam, quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se
- 9 ferebat, simillimos dis. Ad eos velut ad simulacra versi

2. **curules . . . magistratus:** i.e. entitling the incumbent to sit in the *sella curulis*. **medio aedium:** see on 1. 57. 9.

3. **praefante:** they were to follow, repeating his formula (*carmen*).

4. **remiserant animos:** "had abated their anger." **patente:** cf. 38. 10.

5. **vacuis . . . viis:** "through the streets without encountering the

usual throngs."

6. **conglobati redibant:** "kept returning in squads."

8. **in aedium vestibulis:** loosely used (cf. 2), or the *seniores* may have variously seated themselves.

9. **permulcenti:** with *Gallo*, dat. of reference after *iram movisse*. **ortum (esse):** after *dicitur* now regarded as impersonal.

cum starent, M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse, atque ab eo initium caedis ortum, ceteros in sedibus  
 10 suis trucidatos; post principum caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignes.

1 XLII. Ceterum, — seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent,  
 2 et non omnia concremari tecta, ut, quodcumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, — nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe  
 3 prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum concipere rem, sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant.  
 4 Quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relict  
 5 praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios miserandi magis, qui umquam obsessi sunt, quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in  
 6 hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum exceperit; lux deinde noctem inquietam insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae semper

XLII. 1. *si*: interrogative; "to see whether."

2. *et*: = *et tamen*. *perinde atque*: "exactly as."

3. *vagosque . . . cursus*: "their rambling invasion of all the streets." *mentibus . . . concipere*: "to

realize." *satis constare*: "to have full possession of."

4. *avertisset*: iterative subjunctive. *velut*, etc.: as if placed by fortune to witness the ruin of their city, and thus left to protect none of their belongings save their bodies.

7 cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem libertati  
8 relictum virtute defenderent; et iam, cum eadem cotidie acciderent, velut adsueti malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

- 1 XLIII. Galli quoque, per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequiquam bello gesto, cum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent, nequaquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditionem animos ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem statuunt.
- 2 Prima luce signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnis aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant, ea robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per  
3 proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clivo restitere, atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat, impetu facto strage ac ruina fudere Gallos, ut numquam postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint  
4 tale pugnae genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi, obsidionem parant, cuius ad id tempus immemores et quod in urbe fuerat frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum  
5 omne Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim obsidere

7. *etsi*: = *etiam si*. *libertati relictum*: i.e. as the only place where liberty might survive.

XLIII. 1. *experiri ultima*: "to resort to extreme measures."

2. *qua*: sc. *parte*; resumed by *ea*. *quo . . . facilius*: "the greater height they gained, the easier for them to be repulsed down the steep."

3. *temptaverint*: see on 1. 16. 1.

arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent.

- 6 Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experi-  
endam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus  
7 exsulabat, duxit; qui maestior ibi fortuna publica quam  
sua cum dis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indig-  
nando mirandoque, ubi illi viri essent, qui secum Veios  
Faleriosque cepissent, qui alia bella fortius semper quam  
8 felicius gessissent, repente audit Gallorum exercitum  
adventare atque de eo pavidos Ardeates consultare.  
Nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus cum se in mediam  
contionem intulisset, abstinere suetus ante talibus con-  
1 ciliis, XLIV. 'Ardeates,' inquit, 'veteres amici, novi  
etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita  
tulit et fortuna hoc eguit mea, nemo vestrum condi-  
tionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res  
ac commune periculum cogit quod quisque possit in  
2 re trepida praesidii in medium conferre. Et quando ego  
vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam,  
si nunc cessavero? Aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in  
bello non fuerit? Hac arte in patria steti, et invictus  
3 bello in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis  
autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi  
Romani beneficiis, quanta ipsi meministis — nec enim  
exprobranda apud memores sunt — gratiae referendae  
et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pari-  
4 endi, qui effuso agmine adventat. Gens est, cui natura

6. ad . . . *experiendam*: with *duxit*. *Camillus*: cf. 32. 7.

7. cum . . . *senesceret*: circumstantial. *felicius*: "by luck;" contemptuous.

8. Nec . . . *tactus*: "as if under divine inspiration." *suetus*: = *adsuetus*; concessive.

XLIV. 1. *quando*: explaining *cives mei*. The *Ardeates* had made

him a *municeps*, but he had no voice in the assembly. in *medium conferre*: "to contribute."

2. *hac arte*: see on 1. 53. 1.

3. *fortuna*: = *occasio*, with *referendae*. *memores*: "since you well remember."

4. *firma*: referring logically to *animos*, as *magna* to *corpora*.

corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt.  
 5 Argumento sit clades Romana; patentem cepere urbem; ex arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu; iam obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros  
 6 palantur. Cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi nox adpetit, prope rivos aquarum sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito  
 7 incauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri moenia vestra nec pati haec omnia Gallorum fieri, prima vigilia capite arma frequentesque me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam. Nisi vinctos somno velut pecudes trucidandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mearum exitum, quem Romae habui'.

1 XLV. Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse. Con-  
 tione dimissa corpora curant, intenti, quam mox signum daretur. Quo dato, primo silentio noctis ad portas  
 2 Camillo praesto fuere. Egressi haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti cum ingenti clamore invadunt.  
 3 Nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset, ignaros in fugam et quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati, excursionem ab oppidanis in palatos facta, circumveniuntur.

6. **hausto**: "swallowed." **rivos aquarum**: "water courses." **sine munimento**: observe the implied contrast with the nightly *castra* of the Romans. **sternuntur**: middle voice.

7. **recuso**: emphatic for the future.

XLV. 1. **aequis iniquisque**: "friends and foes."

2. **ingenti**: stronger than *magno*.

3. **soluta**: "relaxed." Contrast with *vinctos* (44. 7). **cubilibus suis**: "from where each lay." Cf. *ferarum ritu* (44. 6). **oppidanis**: i.e. of Antium.

- 4 XLVI, Veis interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam vires crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris, qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis con-
- 5 fluentibus, ut in parte praedae essent, maturum iam vide-
- 6 batur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus; sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui ductu auspi-
- 7 cioque eius res prospere gesserant. Consensu omnium placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant.
- 8 Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, impiger iuvenis, operam pollicitus, incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad
- 9 urbem defertur. Inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodia saxum in Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus man-
- 10 data exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur militesque haberent imperatorem, quem vellent, eadem degressus nuntius Veios
- 11 contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu — quod magis credere libet, non

*XLVI. The siege has continued at Rome, the Gauls merely preventing any escape.*

4. **Romanis convenientibus:** causal abl. abs. **palati fuerant:** see *Introd. V. 4. c.*

5. **in parte:** = *participes*.

6. **Camilli:** as dictator in 396 B. C. he had forced the surrender of Veii, after the Romans had besieged the town for ten years.

7. **pudor:** "sense of propriety." **rerum . . . rebus:** i.e. "they observed distinction though near extinction."

8. **secundo Tiberi:** "down the

Tiber;" after the analogy of *secunda aqua* (cf. 21. 28. 7).

9. **praeruptum . . . saxum:** the famous Tarpeian rock.

10. **uti . . . vellent:** the substance of the *senatus consultum*. **revocatus:** because an exile could not be appointed. **iussu populi:** with *diceretur*. **eadem:** sc. *via*.

11. **seu,** etc.: the point in doubt is whether Camillus, anticipating his recall and appointment, accompanied the *legati* at once to Veii, or whether, as Livy is more inclined to believe, he awaited more formally at Ardea



prius profectum ab Ardea, quam compererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu habere — lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

- 1 XLVII. Dum haec Veis agebantur, interim arx
- 2 Romae Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu vestigio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veis pervenerat, seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo ascensu aequo, nocte sublustri, cum primo inermem, qui temptaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sub-
- 3 levantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent.
- 4 Anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit, et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui iam in
- 5 summo constiterat, umbone ictum deturbat. Cuius casus prolapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armisque omissis saxa, quibus adhaerebant, manibus amplexos trucidat. Iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota

until the action was taken. But cf. 9. 4. 14. The action was probably of a summary character, the legal snarls being later devices to expand the idea in 7.

XLVII. 2. *qua*: sc. *parte*. *esset*: iterative, as is *postularet* (3). *alterni . . . alios*: "now supported by those beneath, or in turn pushing from below, and dragging one another along."

3. *non . . . solum*: a second *non*

is not to be supplied, because *fallerent* = *non excitarent*.

4. *sacris Iunonis*: i.e. *quia sacrae aves Iunonis erant*. in . . . *inopia*: concessive. The next chapter dwells upon the famine. *Manlius*: according to later traditions he was commander-in-chief. *ictum deturbat*: "struck and dislodged."

5. *Cuius . . . prolapsi*: "his fall as he tumbled down." *omissis*: = *abiectis*.

- 6 prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis, quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat, cum praeteritum quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti datum est.
- 7 Luce orta vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, cum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab tribunis solum militum, sed consensu 8 etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes eius, quae in arce erant, contulerunt, rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, cum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem 9 unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci, qua fefellerat ascendens hostis, citati; et cum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus mili- 10 tum pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem conicientium culpam, deterritus a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae adprobantibus 11 cunctis de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiones utrimque custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat inter Veios Romanque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.
- 1 XLVIII. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellicae mala 2 fames utrumque exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque, non pulverem modo ferente, cum quid venti motum

7. **ad tribunos**: the government at this time was vested in six military tribunes who had consular power. **facto**: see on 3. 47. 2.

8. **quartarios**: less than a quarter of a pint. **detractum**: = a rel. clause, repeating the idea of *fraudans*. Cf. 2. 10. 13.

9. **more militari**: "following military usage."

XLVIII. 2. **cum loco**, etc.: the order is *habentes castra loco cum iacente . . . tum torrido ab incendiis*. **ferente**: with *loco*; "giving forth." **cum . . . esset**: iterative; "when there was the slightest breeze."

- 3 esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori adsueta, cum aestu et angore vexata, vulgatis velut in pecua morbis, morerentur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant; bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere.
- 4 Indutiae deinde cum Romanis factae et colloquia permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus cum identidem Galli famem obicerent eaque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae eius opinionis causa multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in
- 5 hostium stationes. Sed iam neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat. Itaque dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Veis adducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque,
- 6 quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes, interim Capitolinus exercitus stationibus vigilisque fessus, superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis, cum famem unam natura
- 7 vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret, postremo spe quoque iam, non solum cibo deficiente et, cum stationes procederent, prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis vel dedi vel redimi se, quacumque pactione possent, iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna mercede se
- 8 adduci posse, ut obsidionem relinquunt. Tum senatus

3. **umorique ac frigori:** the Romans uniformly speak disparagingly of the northern climate. **bustorumque . . . Gallicorum:** their exact location, though *media in urbe* (22. 14. 11), is unknown.

5. **L. Valerium:** Probably L. Valerius Potitus, consul 392 B. C., with whom Camillus had had close official relations. (31). **quibus:** = *ea, quibus*; a characterizing rel. clause.

6. **tamen:** both referring back to *stationibus . . . fessus*, and antic-

pating the concessive *cum* clause.

7. **prospectans:** the clauses thus far explain why Camillus is looked for so eagerly; after *postremo* comes their dire necessity. **cum . . . procederent:** "since there was continuous service on guard," i. e. one's turn came so quickly. **possent:** future in first form of the thought. **iussit:** with *exercitus*, expressing their will.

8. **tribunum militum:** balanced with *regulum Gallorum*, implying their power to conclude

habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum, regulum Gallorum, colloquio transacta res, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox  
 9 imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est: pondera ab Gallis adlata iniqua, et, tribuno recusante, additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox: vae victis.

1 XLIX. Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro appenso, dictator intervenit, auferrique aurum  
 2 de medio et Gallos submoveri iubet. Cum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset, denuntiat-  
 3 que Gallis, ut se ad proelium expédiant. Suos in acervum conicere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque, non auro, recuperare patriam iubet, in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci  
 4 fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia, quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepararive poterant,  
 5 providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capiunt iraque magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam ver-

the arrangements. **gentibus mox imperaturi**: note how the effect is thus heightened. Cf. Aen. 6. 853.

9. **indignitas**: the proverbial insult added to injury. **iniqua**: i.e. too heavy. **vae victis**: "woe to the worsted!"

XLIX. *Camillus arrives and the siege is raised.*

1. **redemptos**: emphatic predicate. **nondum . . . appenso**: "not

yet weighed." Only Livy gives this dramatic turn to the arrival of Camillus.

2. **denuntiatque**: "warns." **ut . . . expédiant**: A jussive substantive clause.

3. **ulcisci**: here a passive.

4. **inaequali**: with *solo*. **secunda**: with *quae*.

5. **momento**: "exertion."

terat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt, quam ad Aliam vicerant.

6 Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem cladis  
7 relictus. Dictator, recuperata ex hostibus patria, triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militaris, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.

8 Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit, cum prohibuit migrari Veios et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per  
9 se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae senatu obsecrante, ne rem publicam in incerto relinqueret statu.

6. *iustiore . . . proelio*: i.e. the second encounter was more properly a battle.

7. *interque . . . iaciunt*: "amid the rough jests which the soldiers, as is their fashion, flung about them." Cf. 3. 29. 5.

8. *migrari Veios*: "removal to Veii." This had been urged before by the tribunes in 395 B. C. The following is Livy's report of the natural advantages urged for Rome:

*Non sine causa diti hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commercia accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum (54. 4).*

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER VII.

- 1 XXIX. Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et longinquitate vel regionum vel temporum, quibus bellatum est, dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gentem opibus armisque validam, mota arma;
- 2 Samnitium bellum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum Poeni secuti. Quanta rerum moles! Quotiens in extrema periculorum ventum, ut in hanc magnitudinem, quae vix sustinetur, erigi imperium posset!
- 3 Belli autem causa cum Samnitibus Romanis, cum societate amicitiaque iuncti essent, extrinsecus venit, non
- 4 orta inter ipsos est. Samnites Sidicinis iniusta arma,

XXIX. XXX. 1-10. 19-23. XXXI-XXXII. 4. XXXIII. 5-18. THE FIRST SAMNITE WAR, 343-341 B. C.

Rome's expansion from a small settlement to a world empire came first through the subjugation of her immediate neighbors and then of all Italy. By the middle of the fourth century B. C. she had encountered, successfully for the most part, the Latins, Sabines, southern Etrurians, Aequians, Volscian, Hernicians, and Aruncians. But the Samnites, who occupied a large part of central Italy from the Adriatic to the mountain range and Campania, a sturdy mountain folk full of the spirit of independence, proved to be foemen worthy of Rome. For nearly fifty years they gave

the growing state its most severe struggle for Italian supremacy.

XXIX. 1. **Maiora iam hinc:** practically a special preface to this division. Cf. Aen. 7. 44 **maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo. eo anno:** 343 B. C.

2. **ancipiti Marte:** "with varying success." **rerum moles:** "mass of events."

3. **Romanis:** next to **Samnitibus** for special effect, the "Roman-Samnite" war. Cf. 9. 1. 1. **cum . . . iuncti essent:** (19. 4). In 354 B. C.

4. **Sidicinis:** a people living to the north of the Campanians. The Samnites pressing over their border thus first encountered the Sidicinians. **sese coniungunt:** sc. Sidicini.

quia viribus plus poterant, cum intulissent, coacti inopes ad opulentiorum auxilium confugere, Campanis sese  
 5 coniungunt. Campani magis nomen ad praesidium sociorum quam vires cum attulissent, fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum in Sidicino pulsi agro, in se deinde  
 6 molem omnem belli verterunt. Namque Samnites omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finitimorum, Campanos, adorti, unde aequae facilis victoria, praedae atque gloriae plus esset, Tifata, imminensis Capuae colles, cum praesidio firmo occupassent, descendunt inde quadrato agmine in planitiem, quae Capuam Tifataque interiacet.  
 7 Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adversoque proelio Campani intra moenia compulsi, cum robore iuventutis suae acciso nulla propinqua spes esset, coacti sunt ab Romanis petere auxilium.

1 XXX. Legati introducti in senatum maxime in hanc sententiam locuti sunt: 'populus nos Campanus legatos ad vos, patres conscripti, misit amicitiam in  
 2 perpetuum, auxilium praesens a vobis petatum. Quam si secundis rebus nostris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius, ita infirmiore vinculo contracta esset. Tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subiecti atque obnoxii  
 3 vobis minus essemus; nunc, misericordia vestra conciliati auxilioque in dubiis rebus defensi, beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati atque

5. **Campani**: the inhabitants of the rich *ager Campanus*, whose chief city was Capua. They were even remotely of Samnite stock, but now grown effete (*fluentes luxu*) they presented weak resistance to their invaders (6).

6. **aeque**: as from the Sidicinians. **esset**: = fut. indic. in the direct thought. **Tifata**: a range of hills rising above Capua.

XXX. 1. **maxime** . . . **senten-**

**tiam**: "very much to this effect." **populus nos Campanus legatos**: an interlocked order often found in poetry. **patres conscripti**: see on 2. 1. 11. **petatum**: supine.

2. **Quam**: translate "the friendship." **sicut . . . ita**: "though . . . yet." See on 1. 25. 7. **ut qui**: see on Praef. 2.

3. **conciliati** . . . **defensi**: the assumption is diplomatic.

- 4 omni ope divina humanaque indigni videamur. Neque  
hercule, quod Samnites priores amici sociique vobis  
facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror, ne nos in amicitiam  
accipiamur, sed ut vetustate et gradu honoris nos prae-  
5 iungeretis foedera, cautum est. Fuit quidem apud vos  
semper satis iusta causa amicitiae, velle eum vobis  
6 amicum esse, qui vos appeteret; Campani, etsi fortuna  
praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitu-  
dine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis  
cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus  
7 vestris in amicitiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscis-  
que, aeternis hostibus huius urbis, quandocumque se  
moverint, ab tergo erimus et, quod vos pro salute nostra  
priores feceritis, id nos pro imperio vestro et gloria  
8 semper faciemus. Subactis his gentibus, quae inter  
nos vosque sunt, quod prope diem futurum spondet et  
virtus et fortuna vestra, continens imperium usque ad  
9 nos habebitis. Acerbum ac miserum est, quod fateri  
nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo ventum est, patres con-  
scripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimicorum Campani simus.  
10 Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis, Samnitium erimus;  
Capuam ergo et Campaniam omnem vestris an Sam-  
19 nitium viribus accedere malitis, deliberate. Vobis ara-

4. **ad id valere . . . ne:** "has weight to prevent." **arbitror:** the spokesman loses the official plural for the moment. Cf. 31. 3. **neque . . . cautum est:** "no provision was made against." The sophistry here consists in mentioning what is true but not bearing on the real source of danger to Rome. War with the Samnites would surely follow the particular alliance now sought.

5. **velle:** sc. *vos*; "your wishing," etc., subject of *fuit*.

6. **magnifice loqui:** cf. the collo-

quial *magna loqui*, "talking big." **urbis:** Capua. Hannibal even promised to make it the capital of Italy (23. 10. 2.) **venimus:** the pres. is more insistent than the future.

7. **Aequis Volscisque:** dat. of ref. with *ab tergo*.

9. **amicorum:** pred. poss. gen.

19. **ager Campanus:** the fairest in all Italy (22. 14. 1). Cf. below 31. 1. **vobis . . . frequentabitur:** "the great population of Capua will be at your command," i.e. for levies.



bitur ager Campanus, vobis Capua urbs frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deorum immortalium numero nobis eritis, nulla colonia vestra erit, quae nos obsequio  
 20 erga vos fideque superet. Adnuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque vestrum invictum Campanis, et iubete  
 21 sperare incolumem Capuam futuram. Qua frequentia omnium generum multitudinis prosequente creditis nos illinc profectos? Quam omnia votorum lacrimarumque plena reliquisse? In qua nunc expectatione senatum populumque Campanum, coniuges liberosque nostros  
 22 esse? Stare omnem multitudinem ad portas viam hinc ferentem prospectantes certum habeo. Quid illis nos, patres conscripti, sollicitis ac pendentibus animi renun-  
 23 tiare iubetis? Alterum responsum salutem, victoriam, lucem ac libertatem, alterum — ominari horreo quae ferat! Proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis atque amicis aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite.'

- 1 XXXI. Submotis deinde legatis cum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propinquus ad varietates annonae horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen tanta utilitate fides antiquior fuit, respon-  
 2 ditque ita ex auctoritate senatus consul: 'auxilio vos, Campani, dignos censet senatus, sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites nobiscum foedere iuncti sunt; itaque arma, deos prius quam homines violatura, adversus

**20. Adnuite . . . nutum numenque:** an epic *figura etymologica*, with speedy recognition of the Romans as in *numero deorum* (19).

**22. prospectantes:** "eagerly scanning;" *ad sensum* agreement with *multitudo*. Others construe with *portas*. **animi:** locative.

**23. Proinde:** see on 1. 9. 4. **nusquam . . . futuris:** i.e. refusal meant their annihilation by the

Samnites.

XXXI. 1. **ad varietates annonae:** "to meet fluctuations in provisions." **tanta . . . fult:** "their sense of honor was stronger than the consideration of great expediency." *Antiquior* frequently implies that the thing which has survived is better.

**2. deos:** as witnesses of the treaty. Cf. 9. 1. 7.

- 3 Samnites vobis negamus; legatos, sicut ius fasque est, ad socios atque amicos precatum mittemus, ne qua vobis vis fiat.' Ad ea princeps legationis—sic enim domo mandatum attulerant—'quando quidem' inquit  
 4 vultis, vestra certe defendetis: itaque populum Campanum urbemque Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina humanaque omnia in vestram, patres conscripti, populi-  
 5 que Romani dicionem dedimus, quidquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.' Sub haec dicta omnes  
 6 manus ad consules tendentes, pleni lacrimarum in vestibulo curiae procubuerunt. Commoti patres vice for-  
 7 tunarum humanarum, si ille praepotens opibus populus, luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante auxilium finitimi petissent, adeo infractos gereret animos, ut se  
 8 ipse suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum iam fides agi visa, deditos non prodi; nec facturum aequa Samnitium populum censebant, si agrum urbemque per deditionem factam populi Romani oppugnarent.  
 9 Legatos itaque extemplo mitti ad Samnites placuit. Data mandata, ut preces Campanorum, responsum senatus amicitiae Samnitium memor, deditionem pos-  
 10 tremo factam Samnitibus exponerent; peterent pro societate amicitiaeque, ut dediticiis suis parcerent, neque in eum agrum, qui populi Romani factus esset, hostilia arma inferrent; si leniter agendo parum proficerent, denuntiarent Samnitibus populi Romani senatusque

4. *itaque . . . dedimus*: cf. 1. 38. 2. *dediticii*: "as subject to your control."

6. *Commoti*: sc. *sunt*. *luxuria . . . clarus*: the source of their fame was the ultimate cause of their weakness (32. 7); *superbia Campana* became proverbial. Cf. 9. 6. 5. *potestatis*: cf. *dicionis*, 1. 25. 13.

7. *fides*, etc.: cf. 1. Their honor now seemed to be involved from an-

other point of view. *oppugnarent*: a fut. in the first form of the thought.

8. *Data mandata*: the combination is not euphonious, but it avoids *mandata data*, which Roman rhetoricians would have condemned.

10. *denuntiarent*: see on 5. 49. 2. *populi Romani senatusque*: reverse of the usual order, as at 8. 4. 11.

- verbis, ut Capua urbe Campanoque agro abstinerent.
- 11 Haec legatis agentibus in concilio Samnitium adeo est ferociter responsum, ut non solum gesturos se esse dicerent
  - 12 id bellum, sed magistratus eorum e curia egressi stantibus legatis praefectos cohortium vocarent iisque clara voce imperarent, ut praedatum in agrum Campanum extemplo proficiscerentur.
  - 1 XXXII. Hac legatione Romam relata, positus omnium aliarum rerum curis, patres fetialibus ad res repetendas missis belloque, quia non redderentur, sollemni more indicto decreverunt, ut primo quoque
  - 2 tempore de ea re ad populum ferretur. Iussuque populi consules ambo cum duobus exercitibus ab urbe profecti, Valerius in Campaniam, Cornelius in Samnium, ille ad montem Gaurum, hic ad Saticulam castra ponunt.
  - 3 Priori Valerio Samnitium legiones — eo namque omnem belli molem inclinaturam censebant — occurrunt. Simul in Campanos stimulabat ira, tam promptos nunc ad
  - 4 ferenda nunc ad accersenda adversus se auxilia. Ut vero castra Romana viderunt, ferociter pro se quisque signum duces poscere; adfirmare eadem fortuna Romanum Campano laturum opem, qua Campanus Sidicino tulerit.
  - 5 XXXIII. Proelium, ut quod maxime umquam, pari spe utrimque, aequis viribus, cum fiducia sui sine con-
  - 6 temptu hostium commissum est. Samnitibus ferociam

**12. stantibus:** = *adstantibus*.

XXXII. **1. fetialibus:** the college of twenty *fetiales* were international arbitrators. They demanded restitution, declared war after a vote of the people, and formally concluded peace. **redderentur:** indirect thought. The demand was for Campanian property which became Rome's according to the surrender. **primo quoque:** cf. on 3. 54. 5. The senate, acting for the people,

had in fact already voted the war.

**2. Gaurum:** near the coast N. of Cumae. **Saticulam:** a town some ten miles E. of Capua, over the Samnite border.

**3. stimulabat:** sc. *eos*, to which *adversus se* refers.

**4. tulerit:** see Introd. V. 4. f.

XXXIII. **5. ut . . . umquam:** a shortened comparison; like Eng. "if ever any was."

**6. aequalis victoria:** "a record

augebant novae res gestae et paucos ante dies geminata victoria, Romanis contra quadringentorum annorum  
 7 decora et conditae urbi aequalis victoria; utrisque tamen novus hostis curam addebat. Pugna indicio fuit, quos gesserint animos; namque ita conflixerunt, ut aliquamdiu  
 8 in neutram partem inclinarent acies. Tum consul trepidationem iniciendam ratus, quando vi pelli non poterant, equitibus immissis turbare prima signa hostium con-  
 9 atur. Quos ubi nequiquam tumultuantes in spatio exiguo volvere turmas vidit nec posse aperire in hostes viam, revector ad antesignanos legionum cum desilisset  
 10 ex equo, 'nostrum' inquit 'peditum illud, milites, est opus: agitedum, ut me videritis, quacumque incessero in aciem hostium, ferro viam facientem, sic pro se quisque obvios sternite; illa omnia, qua nunc erectae micant  
 11 hastae, patefacta strage vasta cernetis.' Vix haec dicta dederat, cum equites consulis iussu discurrunt in cornua legionibusque in mediam aciem aperiunt viam. Primus omnium consul invadit hostem, et, cum quo forte con-  
 12 tulit gradum, obtruncat. Hoc spectaculo accensi dextra laevaue ante se quisque memorandum proelium cient. Stant obnixa Samnites, quamquam plura accipiunt quam  
 13 inferunt vulnera. Aliquamdiu iam pugnatum erat, atrox caedes circa signa Samnitium, fuga ab nulladum parte  
 14 erat; adeo morte sola vinci destinaverant animis. Itaque Romani, cum et fluere iam lassitudine vires sentirent et diei haud multum superesse, accensi ira concitant

of victory co-extensive with."

9. **Quos . . . tumultuantes:** the *equites* were ineffective through confusion in their lines. **aperire . . . viam:** a poetic phrase which the commander drops in 10. **antesignanos:** "the van;" two lines, the *hastati* and *principes*, fought before the *signa*.

10. **peditum:** gen. in appos. with the possessive adj. See on *suomet*

*ipsorum*, 5. 38. 7. **pro se:** "with all his might." **erectae micant:** "bristle and flash."

12. **dextra laevaue:** of the consul. **proelium cient:** elsewhere used only of the leaders (cf. 1. 12. 2), but here each acts *pro se* (10).

13. **nulladum:** "none as yet;" a rare combination, after the analogy of *nondum*. Cf. 9. 12. 3.

14. **fluere:** "ebbing."

- 15 *se in hostem. Tum primum referri pedem atque incli-*  
*nari rem in fugam apparuit; tum capi, occidi Samnis;*  
*nec superfuissent multi, ni nox victoriam magis quam*  
 16 *proelium diremisset. Et Romani fatebantur numquam*  
*cum pertinaciore hoste conflictum, et Samnites, cum*  
*quaereretur, quoniam prima causa tam obstinatos*  
 17 *movisset in fugam, oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos*  
*aiebant vesanosque vultus et furentia ora; inde plus*  
*quam ex alia ulla re terroris ortum. Quem terrorem*  
*non pugnae solum eventum, sed nocturna protectione*  
 18 *confessi sunt. Postero die vacuis hostium castris*  
*Romanus potitur, quo se omnis Campanorum multi-*  
*tudo gratulabunda effudit.*

15. **Samnis**: see Introd. V. 2. c.  
**ni**: chiefly used by Livy in unreal  
 condit. Cf. 1. 48. 9.

17. **ardere visos**: equivalent to  
 a rel. clause, and thus parallel with  
*vesanos* and *furentia*. **vesanos** . . .  
**ora**: "frenzied features and furious  
 aspect."

18. **omnis**: a natural exaggera-  
 tion. **gratulabunda**: see Introd.  
 V. 2. e.

*The other consul, Cornelius*  
*(cf. 32. 2), all but suffered a*

*great disaster in the Samnite*  
*territory, through leading his men*  
*into a deep defile beset by the*  
*enemy. His rescue was due to*  
*P. Decius Mus, who seized a*  
*vantage point disregarded by the*  
*Samnites. More than twenty*  
*years later the Romans were again*  
*entrapped, at the Caudine Forks,*  
*and the disaster which they then*  
*sustained was one of the most*  
*humiliating in their history.*

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER IX.

- 1 I. Sequitur hunc annum nobilis clade Romana  
Caudina pax, T. Veturio Calvino Sp. Postumio con-  
2 sulibus. Samnites eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium,  
Herenni filium, habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo  
3 natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi  
legati, qui ad dedendas res missi erant, pace infecta  
redierunt, 'ne nihil actum' inquit 'hac legatione cen-  
seatis, expiatum est, quidquid ex foedere rupto irarum  
4 in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio, quibuscumque diis  
cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res, quae

I-V. 2. 6-VIII. 12. X-XII. 4. THE ROMANS ENTRAPPED AT THE CAUDINE FORKS.

In 322 B. C., during the early stages of the second Samnite war (326-304 B. C.), the Samnites had suffered a crushing defeat and had sent ambassadors to make restitution for their breaking a truce secured in 324 B. C. The violator of the truce, Brutulus Papius, had committed suicide (cf. 1. 6.) when the embassy was voted, but his body and property, together with all captives and booty, were offered to the Romans. As they, however, accepted the men and booty, but insisted upon the recognition of their supremacy by the Samnites, the latter prepared again for war under Pontius, the "Samnite

Hannibal," and in 321 B. C. entrapped the Romans in the memorable mountain pass at Caudium.

1. 1. **pax**: a "convention" among the officers to save the Roman troops (cf. ch. 11), but not ratified by the senate.

2. **Herenni**: cf. 3. 4. He is referred to in complimentary terms by Cic. de Sen. 41.

3. **infecta**: = non facta. **ex foedere rupto**: made in 341 B. C., and broken in 327 B. C. by the Samnites in aiding the Palaepolitani against Rome. **caelestium**: poetic adj. used as subst. instead of *deorum*.

4. **cordi fuit**: whatever gods "willed it." See Introd. V. 1. b. (2). The construction is independent of *satis scio*.

ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse  
 cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem  
 5 spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos miti-  
 gandosque homines potuit, quam quod nos fecimus?  
 Res hostium in praeda captas, quae belli iure nostrae  
 6 videbantur, remisimus; auctores belli, quia vivos non  
 potuimus, perfunctos iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum,  
 ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos,  
 7 Romam portavimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid  
 foederi, quid diis arbitris foederis debeo? Quem tibi  
 tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem  
 feram? Neminem, neque populum neque privatum,  
 8 fugio, quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relin-  
 quitur inopi, at ego ad deos vindices intolerandae super-  
 biae confugiam et precabor, ut iras suas vertant in  
 9 eos, quibus non suae redditae res, non alienae adcu-  
 mulatae satis sint; quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum,  
 non deditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia  
 domini deditionem exsatient; qui placari nequeant, nisi  
 hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque viscera nostra prae-  
 10 buerimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus neces-  
 sarium, et pia arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur  
 11 spes. Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum  
 momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis  
 agant diis, pro certo habete priora bella adversus deos  
 magis quam homines gessisse, hoc, quod instat, ducibus  
 ipsis diis gesturos.'

**6. auctores:** either rhetorical exaggeration, or Livy here follows a tradition that gives Papius associates. **perfunctos iam fato:** euphemistic for *mortuos*. **noxae:** = *noxiae*; part. gen. with *quid*.

**7. Romane:** the apostrophe adds greatly to the rhetorical effect. **feram:** "offer," i.e. as arbitrator to judge the merits of the case.

**8. iuris:** with *nihil*. The protest is against might's making right.

**9. alienae adcumulatae:** "the addition of that belonging to others."

**10. Iustum bellum, pia arma:** most essential conditions from a Roman point of view, technically at least.

**11. agant:** sc. *homines*. **gessisse:** sc. *vos* from *habete*.

- 1 II. Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus,  
 exercitu educto circa Caudium castra quam potest  
 2 occultissime locat. Inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam con-  
 sules Romanos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem  
 pastorum habitu mittit, pecoraeque diversos alium alibi  
 3 haud procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis: ubi  
 inciderint in praedatores, ut idem omnibus sermo con-  
 stet, legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omni-  
 bus copiis circumsedere, nec procul abesse, quin vi  
 4 capiant. Iam is rumor, ante de industria vulgatus,  
 venerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captivi, eo maxime,  
 5 quod sermo inter omnes congruebat. Haud erat dubium,  
 quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret, bonis ac fidelibus  
 sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem  
 6 deficeret; ea modo, qua irent, consultatio fuit. Duae  
 ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi  
 maris, patens apertaue, sed quanto tutior, tanto fere  
 7 longior, altera per furculas Caudinas brevior. Sed ita  
 natus locus est: saltus duo alti, angusti silvosique sunt,  
 montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti. Iacet inter  
 eos satis patens, clausus in medio, campus herbidus  
 8 aquosusque, per quem medium iter est. Sed antequam  
 venias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et

II. 1. *circa*: "near."

2. *Calatiam*: a few miles S. E. of Capua, and on the line of travel thence through the Apennine passes, or Forks, at Caudium. This route was the short cut from the north to Luceria, where it was alleged that Roman allies were in distress. *praesidiis*: "picket line."

3. *abesse*: see on 1. 5. 6.

4. *de industria*: see Introd. V. 3. *d. captivi*: the "shepherds" were captured, as Pontius had planned

5. *ferret*: the subjunctive expresses obligation. See on 19. 13.

*ea*: = *de ea re*. See on 1. 53. 1.

7. *ita patus*: "such is its nature." Livy elaborates the danger instead of merely adding *periculosior* to balance *tutior* above. *saltus duo*: these two deep passes, probably between the modern Arpaia on the west and Montesarchio on the east, gave access to an open marshy meadow about five miles wide by seven and a half long. This *campus* was otherwise shut in by a continuous chain of mountains that joined the defiles on either side.

8. *si . . . pergat*: "if one pushes on ahead."



aut eadem, qua te insinuaveris, retro via repetenda  
aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artioremp  
9 ditio<sup>9</sup>remque evadendum. In eum campum via alia per  
cavam rupem Romani demisso agmine cum ad alias  
angustias protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum  
saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole invenere.  
Cum fraus hostilis apparuisset, praesidium etiam in  
10 summo saltu conspicitur. Citati inde retro, qua ven-  
erant, pergunt repetere viam. Eam quoque clausam  
sua obice armisque inveniunt. Sistunt inde gradum  
11 torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque  
alii alios, cum alterum quisque compotem magis mentis  
12 ac consilii ducerent, diu immobiles silent. Deinde ubi  
praetoria consulum erigi videre et expedire quosdam  
utilia operi, quamquam ludibrio fore munientes per-  
13 ditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cernebant, tamen, ne  
culpam malis adderent, pro se quisque nec hortante  
ullo nec imperante ad muniendum versi castra propter  
aquam vallo circumdant, sua ipsi opera laboremque  
14 inritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant,  
15 cum miserabili confessione eludentes. Ad consules  
maestos, ne advocantes quidem in consilium, quando  
nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati  
ac tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi  
opem, quam vix dii immortales ferre poterant, ab duci-

**9. eum:** such as just described.  
**via alia:** i.e. *primis angustis* (cf. 8).  
**per . . . rupem:** "through a rocky  
gorge." **deiectu arborum:** = *de-*  
*tectis arboribus*, but used for sym-  
metry with the construction that  
follows.

**10. sua . . . armisque:** "with  
its own barricade and assignment of  
armed men." **velut . . . inso-**  
**litus:** "a strange sort of numbness."  
The general helplessness of the army,

as well as the difficulties of the pass,  
loses nothing in Livy's graphic  
account.

**12. ludibrio fore:** sc. *se*; "that  
they would appear ridiculous."

**13. versi:** middle voice: **sua**  
**ipsi opera,** etc.: "themselves derid-  
ing their own work and effort in  
pitiable recognition of its useles-  
sness."

**15. quando . . . esset:** the  
thought of the consuls.

- 1 bus exposcunt. III. Querentes magis quam consul-  
tantes nox oppressit, cum pro ingenio quisque fremerent,  
alius: 'per obices viarum, per adversa montium, per  
2 silvas, qua ferri arma poterunt, eamus; modo ad hostem  
pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope triginta  
vincimus; omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in per-  
3 fidum Samnitem pugnanti;' alius: 'quo aut qua eamus?  
Num montes moliri sede sua paramus? Dum haec immine-  
bunt iuga, qua tu ad hostem venies? Armati inermes,  
fortes ignavi, pariter omnes capti atque victi sumus;  
ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est  
4 hostis, sedens bellum conficiet.' His invicem sermon-  
ibus qua cibi, qua quietis immemor nox traducta est.

- Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis sup-  
petebat rebus. Itaque universi Herennium Pontium,  
patrem imperatoris, per litteras consulendum censent.  
5 Iam is gravis annis non militaribus solum, sed civilibus  
quoque abscesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen adfecto  
6 vigeat vis animi consillique. Is ubi accepit ad furculas  
Caudinas inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos,  
consultus ab nuntio filii censuit omnes inde quam primum  
7 inviolatos dimittendos. Quae ubi sprete sententia est  
iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, cen-  
8 suit ad unum omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi tam  
discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa  
data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum  
quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto corpore rebatur,

III. 1. *per adversa montium*:  
for symmetry with the preceding  
phrase, instead of *per adversos  
montes*.

3. *molliri*: = *amolliri*, "to re-  
move." *tu*: the first speaker, whose  
three points are specifically an-  
swered. *sedens*: adversative asyn-  
deton, possibly to avoid the combi-  
nation *sed sedens*. See on 7. 31. 8.

4. *qua . . . qua*: = *et . . . et*.

Cf. Eng. "what with," in adverbial  
sense.

5. *adfecto*: "broken."

6. *exercitus*: the two consular  
armies, about 36,000 men.

8. *velut . . . oraculo*: "as if  
from an oracle with its ambiguity."  
Often the responses took a new  
meaning after the event. *victus  
est*: "was prevailed upon."

tamen consensu omnium victus est, ut ipsum in consilium acciret. Nec gravatus senex plastro in castra dicitur advectus vocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret, causas tantum adiceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates, quibus, amissis duobus exercitibus, haud facile receptura vires Romana res esset, bellum differre; tertium nullum consilium esse. Cum filius aliique principes percunctando exsequerentur, quid, si media via consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli victis imponerentur: 'ista quidem sententia' inquit 'ea est, quae neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Servate modo, quos ignominia inritaveritis: ea est Romana gens, quae victa quiescere nesciat. Vivet semper in pectoribus illorum quidquid istuc praesens necessitas inusserit, nec eos ante multiplices poenas expetitas a vobis quiescere sinet.'

IV. Neutra sententia accepta, Herennius domum e castris est avectus. Et in castris Romanis cum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent, et iam omnium rerum inopia esset, victi necessitate legatos mittunt, qui primum pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non impetrarent, uti provocarent ad pugnam. Tum Pontius debellatum esse respondit, et, quoniam ne victi quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias con-

9. **Nec gravatus:** "without resentment."

10. **firmare; differre:** conative.  
**quibus:** see on 1. 29. 6.

11. **leges:** "conditions."

12. **quae . . . tollit:** see on *quo*, 2. 32. 11. **Servate modo:** strongly ironical.

13. **quidquid, etc.:** "whatever as

your demand the immediate necessity shall brand upon them;" subject of *vivet*.

IV. 1. **Herennius:** Livy uses this foreign praenomen (3. 4) alone, because it was also a Roman nomen. He would not say "Gaius" for the son.

3. **debellatum esse:** "the war was over;" *de* is intensive.

- 4 dictiones pacis aequas victis ac victoribus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo foedere vic-  
 5 turum. His condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos redire  
 6 ad se vetuit. Haec cum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia incessit, ut non gravius accepturi viderentur, si nun-  
 7 tiaretur omnibus eo loco mortem oppetendam esse. Cum diu silentium fuisset, nec consules aut pro foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere possent, tum L. Lentulus, qui princeps legatorum  
 8 virtute atque honoribus erat: 'patrem meum' inquit, 'consules, saepe audiui memorantem se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa valloque ab ignavisimo ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi essent, et erumpere, si non sine magno periculo, tamen sine certa  
 9 perniciē possent. Quod si, ut illis decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in obsidentes eruperunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimicandi tantummodo cum hoste copia esset, non mihi paterni animi indoles in consilio dando deesset.  
 10 Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor, et me vel devovere pro populo Romano legionibusque vel  
 11 in medios me immittere hostes paratus sum. Sed hic

4. **coloniae**: established at Fregeiae and Cales, near Samnite territory.

6. **nuntiaretur**: either for pluperf., because made contemporary with *viderentur*, or more likely a possible fut. from the past point of view.

7. **hiscere**: "to utter a syllable."

8. **non . . . senatui**: "refused to support the senate's plan." This incident is not mentioned elsewhere.

Cf. 5. 48.

9. **eruperunt**: gnomie, for customary action. **paterni . . . indoles**: "my father's mettle."

10. **devovere**: sc. *dis Manibus*. By this act the devotee became sacred to the gods, who would avenge his destruction by the enemy. So Decius Mus had devoted himself in 340 B. C.

11. **pro se ipsis**: rhetorically representing death as "in their own

patriam video, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum est; quae nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere volunt, quid habent, quod morte sua servant? Tecta urbis, dicat aliquis, et moenia et eam turbam, a qua urbs incolitur. Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleta hoc exercitu, non servantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? Imbellis videlicet atque inermis multitudo. Tam hercule, quam a Gallorum impetu defendit. An a Veiis exercitum Camillumque ducem implorabunt? Hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus ac prodimus. At foeda atque ignominiosa deditio est. Sed ea caritas patriae est, ut tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit, servemus. Subeatur ergo ista, quantacumque est, indignitas, et pareatur necessitati, quam ne dii quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis civitatem, quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt.'

V. Consules profecti ad Pontium in colloquium, cum de foedere victor agitare, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri posse nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaeque alia sollemni. Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt Claudiusque etiam scribit, foedere pax Caudina, sed per sponsionem facta est. Tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exercituque inermi mittendo.

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus,

interest." The brave course now is to take the disgrace.

12. *turbam*: a soldier's contempt for civilians.

13. *An*: used thus rhetorically, *an* regularly introduces an obvious impossibility.

15. *At*, etc.: the objection of an imaginary opponent. *caritas patriae*: "patriotism." See on 1.34.5.

16. *armis*: i.e. giving them up (cf. *inermes*, 3), as gold was paid to the Gauls.

V. 1. *fetialibus*: see on 7.32.1.

2. *Claudius*: Claudius Quadrigarius, a Roman historian. See Introd. III. *sponsionem*: the consuls and their official advisers became *sponsores* (7.9), binding themselves through 600 *equites* as hostages to secure approval at Rome for the terms agreed upon. For the method of the *foedus* cf. 1.24.4-9.

6. *exercituque*: dative. *mittendo*: sc. *sub iugum*. Cf. 3.28.11. *abstinerent*: sc. *milites*.

ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius inde, quam venissent, abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foveam lapsos. Alii alios intueri; contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria victoris et vultus superbos et per armatos inermium iter, inde foedi agminis miserabilem viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque eorum triumphantes venissent: se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam animos datos.

Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura, quam quae praeceperant animis. Iam primum cum singulis vestimentis inermes extra vallum exire iussi, et primi traditi obsides atque in custodiam abducti. Tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paludamentaue detracta; id tantam inter ipsos, qui paulo ante eos exsecrantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, miserationem fecit, ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus ab illa deformatione tantae maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo averteret oculos. VI. Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi, tum ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus, tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati hostes exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque

7. *illis*: the consuls.

9. *viam*: inaccurately used for variety after *iter*. Both are "the journey." *ipsi*: referring to the parents, as does *eorum*.

12. *cum . . . inermes*: the terms of the pact are specifically repeated.

13. *a consulibus*: "from the con-

suls." The Samnites are now giving the orders. *paludamenta*: the cloaks of gold and purple worn by the commanders.

VI. 1. *gradu proximus*: i.e. *quæstores, legati, tribuni*.

2. *plerisque*: = *per multis*, as often in Livy. *offendisset*: iterative.

intentati, et vulnerati quidam necatique, si vultus eorum indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset.

3 Ita traducti sub iugum et, quod paene gravius erat, per hostium oculos cum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab inferis extracti tum primum lucem aspicere visi sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita deforme intuentibus agmen

4 omni morte tristior fuit. Itaque cum ante noctem Capuam pervenire possent, incerti de fide sociorum et quod pudor praepediebat, circa viam haud procul Capua

5 omnium egena corpora humi prostraverunt. Quod ubi est Capuam nuntiatum, evicit miseratio iusta sociorum

6 superbiam ingenitam Campanis. Confestim insignia sua consulibus, fasces lictoribus, arma, equos, vestimenta,

7 commeatus militibus benigne mittunt; et venientibus Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obviam egressus iustis omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis

8 fungitur officiis. Neque illis sociorum comitas vultusque benigni et adloquia non modo sermonem elicere, sed ne ut oculos quidem attollerent aut consolantes amicos

9 contra intuerentur efficere poterant; adeo super maiorem pudor quidam fugere colloquia et coetus hominum

10 cogebat. Postero die cum iuvenes nobiles, missi a Capua, ut proficiscentes ad finem Campanum prosequerentur, revertissent, vocatique in curiam percunctantibus maioribus natu multo sibi maestiores et

12 abiectioris animi visos referrent: adeo silens ac prope mutum agmen incessisse; iacere indolem illam Romanam, ablatosque cum armis animos, non reddere salutem salutantibus, non dare responsum, non hiscere quem-

3. **omni morte**: "than any form of death."

5. **superbiam**: see on 7. 31. 6.

6. **sua**: "their appropriate." See on 1. 19. 5.

7. **iustis**: substantive; translate "kept all the regular observances as

hosts and (showed) private as well as public courtesies."

8. **consolantes**: conative. **contra**: see on 1. 16. 6.

10. **cum . . . referrent**: resumed by *cum haec dicerentur* (7. 1).

- quam prae metu potuisse, tamquam ferentibus adhuc  
 13 cervicibus iugum, sub quod emissi essent, habere Sam-  
 nites victoriam non praeclaram solum, sed etiam per-  
 petuam; cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos,  
 sed, quod multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam virtutem  
 1 ferociamque: — VII. cum haec dicerentur audirenturque  
 et deploratum paene Romanum nomen in concilio socio-  
 rum fidelium esset, dicitur Ofillius Calavius, Ovi filius,  
 2 clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate verendus,  
 3 longe aliter se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud obsti-  
 natum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia  
 solacia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis ingentem  
 4 molem irarum ex alto animo cientis indicia esse. Aut  
 Romana se ignorare ingenia aut silentium illud Sam-  
 nitibus flebiles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum,  
 Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis  
 5 tristiores memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum  
 animos habiturum, ubicumque congressuri sint; saltus  
 Caudinos non ubique Samnitibus fore.  
 6 Iam Romae etiam sua infamis clades erat. Obsessos  
 primum audierunt; tristior deinde ignominiosae pacis  
 7 magis quam periculi nuntius fuit. Ad famam obsidionis  
 dilectus haberi coeptus erat; dimissus deinde auxiliorum  
 apparatus, postquam deditionem tam foede factam  
 acceperunt; extemploque sine ulla publica auctoritate  
 8 consensum in omnem formam luctus est. Tabernae  
 circa forum clausae iustitiumque in foro sua sponte  
 coeptum prius quam indictum, lati clavi, anuli aurei

**13. bellicosius:** "requiring greater prowess."

**VII. 3. molem:** obj. of *cientis* (= *eius, qui cietet*).

**5. quippe, etc.:** i.e. each nation would be itself in the next encounter, unaided on the one hand, unembarrassed on the other, by such a situation as at the Caudine Forks.

**7. auxiliorum:** not allies here, but the levy just mentioned. **consensum . . . est:** impersonal.

**8. iustitium:** see on 3. 27. 2. **lati clavi:** the laticlave, or broad purple stripe, on the tunic of senators. **anuli aurei:** worn only by men of high rank, while the plebs wore iron ones.



- 9 positi; paene maestior exercitu ipso civitas esse, nec  
ducibus solum atque auctoribus sponsoribusque pacis  
irasci, sed innoxios etiam milites odisse et negare urbe  
10 tectisve accipiendos. Quam concitationem animorum  
fregit adventus exercitus etiam iratis miserabilis. Non  
enim tamquam in patriam revertentes ex insperato  
incolumes, sed captorum habitu vultuque ingressi sero  
11 in urbem ita se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt, ut  
postero atque insequentibus diebus nemo eorum forum  
12 aut publicum aspicere vellet. Consules in privato abditi  
nihil pro magistratu agere, nisi quod expressum senatus  
consulto est, ut dictatorem dicerent comitiorum causa.  
13 Q. Fabium Ambustum dixerunt et P. Aelium Paetum  
14 magistrum equitum; quibus vitio creatis suffecti M.  
Aemilius Papus dictator, L. Valerius Flaccus magister  
equitum. Nec per eos comitia habita, et, quia taedebat  
populum omnium magistratuum eius anni, res ad inter-  
15 regnum rediit. Interreges Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Va-  
lerius Corvus. Is consules creavit Q. Publilium Philonem  
et L. Papirium Cursorem iterum haud dubio consensu  
civitatis, quod nulli ea tempestate duces clariores essent.
- 1 VIII. Quo creati sunt die, eo — sic enim placuerat  
patribus — magistratum inierunt, sollemnibusque sena-  
tus consultis perfectis de pace Caudina rettulerunt;  
2 et Publilius penes quem fascēs erant: ‘dic, Sp. Pos-  
tumi,’ inquit. Qui ubi surrexit, eodem illo vultu, quo  
3 sub iugum missus erat: ‘haud sum ignarus’ inquit,  
‘consules, ignominiae, non honoris causa me primum  
excitatum iussumque dicere, non tamquam senatorem,  
sed tamquam reum qua infelicis belli qua ignominiosae

14. **vitio**: “by error.” **taedebat**: impersonal, with gen. case of the object of dissatisfaction.

15. **essent**: the assigned reason.

VIII. 1. **solemnibus**: routine matters, such as division of duties

for the consuls, fixing certain religious festivals, etc. **rettulerunt**: technical; “introduced the question.”

3. **excitatum**: sc. *esse*. **qua**: see on 3. 4.

- 4 *pacis*. Ego tamen, quando neque de noxa nostra neque de poena rettulistis, omissa defensione, quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum humanarum necessitatumque, sententiam de eo, de quo rettulistis, paucis peragam. Quae sententia testis erit, mihine an legionibus vestris pepercerim, cum me seu turpi seu
- 5 necessaria sponsione obstrinxi; qua tamen, quando iniussu populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quicquam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur
- 6 Samnitibus. Dedamur per fetiales nudi vinctique; exsolvamus religione populum, si qua obligavimus, ne quid divini humanive obstat, quo minus iustum piumque
- 7 de integro ineatur bellum. Interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, educere placet, nec prius ingredi hostium fines, quam omnia iusta in deditionem nostram
- 8 perfecta erunt. Vos, dii immortales, precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit cordi Sp. Postumium, T. Veturium
- 9 consules cum Samnitibus prospere bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse nos sub iugum missos, vidisse sponsione infami obligatos, videre nudos vinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram hostium nostris capitibus
- 10 excipientes; novos consules legionesque Romanas ita cum Samnite gerere bellum velitis, ut omnia ante nos con-
- 11 sules bella gesta sunt.' Quae ubi dixit, tanta simul admiratio miseratioque viri incessit homines, ut modo vix crederent illum eundem esse Sp. Postumium, qui
- 12 auctor tam foedae pacis fuisset, modo miserarentur, quod vir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes supplicium passurus esset ob iram diremptae pacis.

6. *Dedamur*, etc.: the advice of Postumius to his countrymen becomes cheap heroism in the light of his obligation to the Samnites. *si qua*: sc. *religione*.

7. *scribere*: "enroll." *placet*: sc. *mihi*.

8. *cordi*: see on 1. 4.

12. *passurus esset*: "would certainly undergo;" see on *esset*, 7. 15.

- 1 X. Movit patres conscriptos cum causa tum auctor,  
nec ceteros solum, sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se in  
2 senatus dicerent fore potestate. Magistratu inde se  
extemplo abdicaverunt, traditique fetialibus cum ceteris  
Caudium ducendi. Hoc senatus consulto facto lux quae-  
3 dam adfulsisse civitati visa est. Postumius in ore erat,  
eum laudibus ad caelum ferebant, devotioni P. Decii  
4 consulis, aliis claris facinoribus aequabant: emersisse  
civitatem ex obnoxia pace illius consilio et opera; ipsum  
se cruciatibus et hostium irae offerre piaculaque pro  
5 populo Romano dare. Arma cuncti spectant et bellum:  
en umquam futurum, ut congredi armatis cum Samnite  
liceat?
- 6 In civitate ira odioque ardente dilectus prope omnium  
voluntariorum fuit. Rescriptae ex eodem milite novae  
7 legiones, ductusque ad Caudium exercitus. Praegressi  
fetiales ubi ad portam venere, vestem detrahi pacis  
sponsoribus iubent, manus post tergum vinciri, Cum  
apparitor verecundia maiestatis Postumi laxè vinciret:  
'quin tu' inquit 'adducis lorum, ut iusta fiat deditio?'
- 8 Tum ubi in coetum Samnitium et ad tribunal ventum  
Pontii est, A. Cornelius Arvina fetialis ita verba fecit:  
9 'quandoque hisce homines iniussu populi Romani Quir-  
itium foedus ictum iri spoponderunt atque ob eam

X. *The tribunes of the Commons, themselves among the sponsors and apparently elected to the tribuneship before news of the disaster had reached Rome, objected to annulling the pact unless the army should be put back in the position whence it was rescued by the sponsio. They claimed personal exemption from surrender because of their sacred character by virtue of their office. Postumius renewed his urging with good effect.*

1. **Movit**: on the position, see on

1. 59. 4.

2. **abdicaverunt**: the tribunes were then not *sacrosancti* (2. 33. 1), and therefore could be surrendered.

3. **in ore**: sc. *omnium. devotioni, facinoribus*: shorthand expressions (brachylogy) for those who had done these things.

5. **futurum**: sc. *esse*. See on 3. 47. 2.

6. **Rescriptae**: "re-enrolled."

7. **quin . . . adducis**: emphatic for *adduc*.

9. **quandoque**: archaic for *quando quidem*. See on 1. 16. 3. **hisce**:

- rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem, quo populus Romanus scelere impio sit solutus, hosce homines vobis dedo.'
- 10 Haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur quanta maxime poterat vi perculit, et clara voce ait se Samnitum civem esse, illum legatum fetialem a se contra ius gentium
- 1 violatum; eo iustius bellum gesturos XI. Tum Pontius: 'nec ego istam deditionem accipiam' inquit, 'nec
- 2 Samnites ratam habebunt. Quin tu, Spuri Postumi, si deos esse censes, aut omnia inrita facis aut pacto stas? Samniti populo omnes, quos in potestate habuit, aut
- 3 pro iis pax debetur. Sed quid ego te appello, qui te captum victori cum qua potes fide restituis? Populum Romanum appello, quem si sponsionis ad furculas Caudinas factae paenitet, restituat legiones intra saltum,
- 4 quo saeptae fuerunt. Nemo quemquam deceperit, omnia pro infecto sint, recipiant arma, quae per pactionem tradiderunt, redeant in castra sua, quidquid pridie habuerunt, quam in colloquium est ventum, habeant; tum bellum et fortia consilia placeant, tum sponsio et
- 5 pax repudietur. Ea fortuna, iis locis, quae ante pacis mentionem habuimus, geramus bellum, nec populus Romanus consulum sponsionem nec nos fidem populi
- 6 Romani accusemus. Numquamne causa defiet, cur victi pacto non stetis? Obsides Porsinnae dedistis: furto
- 7 eos subduxistis; auro civitatem a Gallis redemistis: inter accipiendum aurum caesi sunt; pacem nobiscum pepigistis, ut legiones vobis captas restitueremus: eam

archaic nom. plur. **noxam nocuerunt**: old formula, with *figura etymologica*.

10. **dicenti fetiali**: dat. of ref., equivalent to a gen. with *femur*. See on 1. 9. 14. **Samnitum civem**, etc.: this legal fiction is as farcical as Portia's injunction to Shylock not to shed "one drop of Christian blood." **gesturos**: sc. *Romanos*.

XI. 3. **paenitet**: see on *taedebat* (7. 14).

4. **deceperit**: see on *fuertit*, 1. 23. 8. **pro infecto**: "as if they had not taken place."

6. **defiet**: = *deficiet*.

7. **inter**: temporal; only in Livy with the gerundive in classical Latin. On the act, cf. 5. 49. 1.

pacem inritam facitis. Et semper aliquam fraudi speciem iuris imponitis. Non probat populus Romanus ignominiosa pace legiones servatas? Pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas victori restituat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus, hoc fetialibus caerimoniis dignum erat. Ut quidem tu, quod petisti per pactionem, habeas, tot cives incolumes, ego pacem, quam hos tibi remittendo pactus sum, non habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc vos, fetiales, iuris gentibus dicitis? Ego vero istos, quos dedi simulatis, nec accipio nec dedi arbitror nec moror, quo minus in civitatem obligatam sponsione commissa iratis omnibus diis, quorum eluditur numen, redeant. Gerite bellum, quando Sp. Postumius modo legatum fetialem genu perculit. Ita dii credent Samnitem civem Postumium, non civem Romanum esse, et a Samnite legatum Romanum violatum; eo vobis iustum in nos factum esse bellum. Haec ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre, et vix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consulares fallendae fidei exquirere! I, lictor, deme vincla Romanis; moratus sit nemo, quo minus, ubi visum fuerit, abeant. Et illi quidem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide, ab Caudio in castra Romana inviolati redierunt. XII. Samnitibus pro superba pace infestissimum cernentibus renatum bellum omnia, quae deinde evenerunt, non in aniniis solum, sed prope in oculis esse, et sero

9. **Ut . . . habeas, . . . non habeam:** subst. clauses in apposition with *hoc iuris* below.

10. **obligatam:** Pontius thus declares the terms of the *sponsio* in operation and represents the gods as angered by the Roman breach of faith.

11. **Ita . . . credent:** ironical.

12. **pudere:** sc. acc. *vos*. The exclamation expresses indignation. Cf. *mene desistere*, Aen 1. 37. **ambages:** "evasions."

13. **forsitan:** the doubt which this represents in Livy's own mind has caused him to frame this trenchant speech for Pontius.

XII. 1. **omnia, quae . . . evenerunt:** "all the subsequent events;" subj. of the hist. inf. *esse*.

2. **media:** with *quae*, "midway between which." Cf. 2. 7. **possessionem . . . mutasse:** contrary to this, what one exchanges is usually the means (abl.) by which the second object is obtained.

ac nequiquam laudare senis Pontii utraque consilia, inter quae se media lapsos victoriae possessionem pace incerta mutasse; et beneficii et maleficii occasione amissa pugnatos cum eis, quos potuerint in perpetuum vel  
 3 inimicos tollere vel amicos facere. Adeoque, nullodum certamine inclinatis viribus post Caudinam pacem animi mutaverant, ut clariorem inter Romanos deditio Postumium quam Pontium incruenta victoria inter  
 4 Samnites faceret, et geri posse bellum Romani pro victoria certa haberent, Samnites simul rebellasse et vicisse crederent Romanum.

1 XVII. Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis videri potest, quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinarem varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legendis velut deverticula amoena et requiem animo meo  
 2 quaererem; tamen tanti regis ac ducis mentio, quibus saepe tacitis cogitationibus volutavi animum, eas evocat in medium, ut quaerere libeat, quinam eventus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit.  
 3 Plurimum in bello pollere videntur militum copia et virtus, ingenia imperatorum, fortuna, per omnia humana,

3. **nullodum**: see on 7. 33. 13.

4. **geri posse bellum**: "the possibility of making war." **simul**, etc.: i.e. that renewal of the war by the Romans was equivalent to a Roman victory.

XVII. XVIII. 6-XIX. IF ALEXANDER THE GREAT HAD INVADED ITALY.

In Chap. 16 the Roman general *Papirius Cursor*, who had fought most successfully against the Samnites, is regarded as the equal of Alexander the Great. This mention leads to an interesting digression of more than ordinary (plus iusto) length, comparing the Roman strength with the

forces of the Macedonian general.

XVII. 1. **minus quaesitum**: i.e. farther from my intention. **varietatibus . . . opere**: "by embellishing the work with varied subjects." **velut**: apologizing for *deverticula*, literally "by-paths," into which one turns aside.

2. **foret (= esset) bellatum**: the *si* clause of conditions contrary to fact is unchanged in indir. disc. but the apodosis if depending upon a construction requiring the subjunctive (*quaerere quinam eventus*) is distinguished by the past periphrastic of the active form. (*futurus fuerit*).

3. **Plurimum in bello pollere**: "have especial weight in war."

maxime in re bellica potens. Ea et singula intuenti  
 4 et universa, sicut ab aliis regibus gentibusque, ita ab  
 hoc quoque facile praestant invictum Romanum impe-  
 5 rium. Iam primum, ut ordiar ab ducibus comparandis,  
 haud equidem abnuo egregium ducem fuisse Alexan-  
 drum; sed clariorem tamen eum facit, quod unus fuit,  
 6 fortunam expertus, decessit. Ut alios reges claros  
 ducesque omittam, magna exempla casuum humanorum,  
 Cyrum, quem maxime Graeci laudibus celebrant,  
 quid nisi longa vita, sicut Magnum modo Pompeium,  
 7 vertenti praebuit fortunae? Recenseam duces Romanos,  
 nec omnes omnium aetatum, sed ipsos eos, cum quibus  
 consulis aut dictatoribus Alexandro fuit bellandum,  
 8 M. Valerium Corvum, C. Marcium Rutilum, C. Sulpi-  
 cium, T. Manlium Torquatum, Q. Publilium Philonem,  
 L. Papirium Cursorem, Q. Fabium Maximum, duos  
 9 Decios, L. Volumnium, M'. Curium? Deinceps ingentes  
 sequuntur viri, si Punicum Romano praevertisset bellum  
 10 seniorque in Italiam traiecisset. Horum in quolibet cum  
 indoles eadem, quae in Alexandro, erat animi ingeniique,  
 tum disciplina militaris, iam inde ab initiis urbis tradita  
 per manus, in artis perpetuis praeceptis ordinatae modum  
 11 venerat. Ita reges gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores

3. *intuenti*: sc. *alicui*; dat. of reference, with conditional force.

5. *quod unus fuit*: while the Romans had two consuls and yearly succession in office. Cf. 18, 13. *in incremento rerum*: "while still advancing in his successes."

6. *Graeci*: especially Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*. *Pompeium*: the most glorious part of Pompey's life ended with his third triumph, 51 B. C., three years before his death. *vertenti*: the *altera fortuna* above, "Fortune in her changing mood."

7. *Alexandro*: dat. of agent.

8. *Papirium*: easily the greatest of the generals in this list.

9. *ingentes . . . viri*: e.g., Fabricius and Coruncanius. *Punicum . . . traiecisset*: i.e. if Alexander had waged war with Carthage and then come to Italy.

10. *artis perpetuis praeceptis ordinatae*: as if their system of warfare had been reduced to a fine art, the successive leaders instructing the next generation.

11. *quibus*: dat. of agent. The alternative reading *quibuscum*, Livy never uses.

- regum Iunii Valeriique, ita deinceps Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii, ita Furius Camillus, quem iuvenes ii, quibus cum Alexandro dimicandum erat, senem viderant.
- 12 Militaria opera pugnando obeunti Alexandro — nam ea quoque haud minus clarum eum faciunt — cessisset videlicet in acie oblatus par Manlius Torquatus aut Valerius Corvus, insignes ante milites quam duces,
- 13 cessissent Decii devotis corporibus in hostem ruentes, cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corporis robore, illo animi!
- 14 Victus esset consiliis iuvenis unius, ne singulos nominem, senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus constare dixit, unus
- 15 veram speciem Romani senatus cepit! Id vero erat periculum, ne sollertius quam quilibet unus ex his, quos nominavi, castris locum caperet, commeatus expediret, ab insidiis praecaveret, tempus pugnae deligeret,
- 16 aciem instrueret, subsidiis firmaret. Non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunae apparatus suae, praedam verius quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere,
- 17 incruentus devicit. Longe alius Italiae quam Indiae, per quam temulento agmine comisabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliae ac montes Lucanos cernenti et vestigia recentia domesticae cladis, ubi avunculus eius nuper, Epiri rex Alexander, absumptus

**12. videlicet:** strongly ironical. Its force continues with *Victus esset* and is renewed in *vero* (15). **oblatus par:** "if pitted against him."

**14. qui . . . dixit:** Cineas, once a representative of King Pyrrhus at Rome. His statement of the doctrine of Epicurus, very indirectly reported, is the basis of Cicero's discussion in *de Sen.* 43 ff.

**16. trahentem:** sc. *secum*. **nihil . . . contemnere:** "with no great daring except that he properly dis-

regarded the vain show."

**17. alius.** with *habitus*, "aspect."  
**comisabundus:** See *Intro.* V. 2. e. Alexander in drunken revelry imitated a Bacchanalian procession through Asia. *Hoc modo per dies VII bacchabundum agmen incessit*, Curt. Hist. Alex. 9 10. 27. **domesticae:** explained by *avunculus eius*. Alexander Molossus who had aided the Tarentines against the Romans was killed by a Lucanian (8. 24. 1).



- 6 erat. XVIII. Id vero periculum erat, quod levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent, dictitare solent, ne maiestatem nominis Alexandri, quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus, 7 et adversus quem Athenis, in civitate fracta Macedonum armis, cernente tum maxime prope fumantes Thebarum ruinas, contionari libere ausi sunt homines, id quod ex monumentis orationum patet, adversus eum nemo ex tot proceribus Romanis vocem liberam missurus fuerit? 8 Quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipiatur animo, unius tamen ea magnitudo hominis erit, collecta paulo plus 9 decem annorum felicitate; quam qui eo extollunt, quod populus Romanus, etsi nullo bello, multis tamen proeliis victus sit, Alexandro nullius pugnae non secunda fortuna fuerit, non intellegunt se hominis res gestas, et eius iuvenis, cum populi iam octingentesimum bellantis 10 annum rebus conferre. Miremur, si, cum ex hac parte saecula plura numerentur quam ex illa anni, plus in tam longo spatio quam in aetate tredecim annorum 11 fortuna variaverit? Quin tu hominis cum homine et 12 ducis cum duce fortunam confers? Quot Romanos duces nominem, quibus numquam adversa fortuna pugnae fuit? Paginas in annalibus magistratuumque fastis percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque, quorum nec

XVIII. 6. *levissimi ex Graecis*: a nation *lingua magis strenua quam factis*, according to Livy 8. 22. 8. The whole digression is apparently an answer to these otherwise unknown boasters. *illis*: the Romans.

7. *Thebarum ruinas*: the home of the poet Pindar alone is said to have been spared by Alexander. *orationum*: e.g. of Demosthenes and Lycurgus. *adversus eum*: resuming *adversus quem*. *missurus fuerit*: see on *futurus fuerit*, 17. 2.

8. *concipiatur*: concessive. *col-*

*lecta . . . felicitate*: "gained from the success."

9. *victus sit*: subjunctive of assigned reason. *octingentesimum*: in round numbers; used inaccurately for Alexander's time, because Livy still feels it true in his own day.

10. *ex hac parte*: i.e. on the Roman side.

11. *quin . . . confers?*: = *confer*.

12. *consulum*: with *paginas*. *in . . . fastis*: "in the records and official lists." See *Introd.* p. 16.

virtutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum paeni-  
 13 tuit. Et, quo sint mirabiliores quam Alexander aut  
 quisquam rex, denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam,  
 14 nemo plus quam annum consulatum gessit; ab tribunis  
 plebis dilectus impediti sunt; post tempus ad bella  
 ierunt; ante tempus comitiorum causa revocati sunt;  
 15 in ipso conatu rerum circumegit se annus; collegae nunc  
 temeritas nunc pravitas impedimento aut damno fuit;  
 male gestis rebus alterius successum est; tironem aut  
 16 mala disciplina institutum exercitum acceperunt. At  
 hercule reges non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus,  
 sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta,  
 17 non sequuntur. Invictus ergo Alexander cum invictis  
 ducibus bella gessisset, et eadem fortunae pignera in  
 18 discrimen detulisset, immo etiam eo plus periculi sub-  
 isset, quod Macedones unum Alexandrum habuissent,  
 multis casibus non solum obnoxium, sed etiam offer-  
 19 entem se, Romani multi fuissent Alexandro vel gloria  
 vel rerum magnitudine pares, quorum suo quisque fato  
 sine publico discrimine viveret morereturque.

- 1 XIX. Restat, ut copiae copiis comparentur vel  
 numero vel militum genere vel multitudine auxiliorum.
- 2 Censebantur eius aetatis lustris ducena quinquagena  
 milia capitum. Itaque in omni defectione sociorum  
 Latini nominis urbano prope dilectu decem scribebantur
- 3 legiones; quaterni quinque exercitus saepe per eos

**13. quo sint:** the purpose of the following statement. **quisquam:** = *ullus*, as often in Livy. **quidam:** sc. *gesserunt*.

**14. ab tribunis:** the tribunes of the Commons had the power of veto and were frequently obstructionists. **tempus:** i.e. the right time. **comitiorum causa:** the consuls conducted the elections.

**15. impedimento:** dat. of purpose **male . . . successum est:** "in-

herited the failures of a predecessor."

**16. sequuntur:** sc. *consilia aliorum* from *consiliis* (*suus*).

**17. eadem . . . detulisset:** "would have staked the same chances of success."

XIX. 1. **Restat:** cf. 17. 3.

**2. lustris:** the citizens were rated every five years, when a *lustrum* or sacrifice of purification (*suovetaurilia*) usually took place in the Campus Martius. **omni:** for *omnium*.

- annos in Etruria, in Umbria Gallis hostibus adiunctis,  
 4 in Samnio, in Lucanis gerebant bellum. Latium deinde  
 omne cum Sabinis et Volscis et Aequis et omni Cam-  
 pania et parte Umbriae Etruriaequae et Picentibus et  
 Marsis Paelignisque ac Vestinis atque Apulis, adiuncta  
 omni ora Graecorum inferi maris a Thuriis Neapolim  
 et Cumas, et inde Antio atque Ostiis tenus, aut socios  
 validos Romanis aut fractos bello invenisset hostes.  
 5 Ipse traiecisset mare cum veteranis Macedonibus, non  
 plus triginta milibus hominum, et quattuor milibus  
 equitum, maxime Thessalorum; hoc enim roboris erat.  
 Persas, Indos aliasque si adiunxisset gentes, impedi-  
 6 mentum maius quam auxilium traheret. Adde, quod  
 Romanis ad manum domi supplementum esset, Alex-  
 andro, quod postea Hannibali accidit, alieno in agro  
 7 bellanti exercitus consenuisset. Arma clipeus sarisaeque  
 illis; Romano scutum, maius corpori tegumentum, et  
 pilum, haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missu-  
 8 que telum. Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans;  
 sed illa phalanx immobilis et unius generis, Romana  
 acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans, facilis  
 9 partienti, quacumque opus esset, facilis iungenti. Iam

4. **Graecorum**: the colonies of the S. W. coast of Italy. **tenus**: always after its case. Cf. *summo tenus ore*, Aen. 1. 737.

5. **triginta milibus**: XXX milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant IIII milia, Curt. 5. 8. 3.

6. **ad manum**: "at hand." **Adde**, **quod** = *praeterea*. **esset**: for *fuisse*; but *esset* makes it apply in Livy's own day. See on 18. 9. **quod . . . accidit**: During all the years of the 2nd Punic war Hannibal had to maintain himself in Italy practically unsupported by his home government.

7. **sarisaeque**: like the Roman

*hastae*. **scutum**: the oblong *scutum* gave more protection than the small round *clipeus*. Cf. 8. 8. 3. **vehementius**: "more effective." **ictu missuque**: hendiadys, "in its blow when hurled."

8. **Statarius**: = *stabilis*. **illa phalanx**: the famous Macedonian phalanx lacked both mobility and power to vary its attack, or change front in the face of the enemy. The Romans had abandoned the phalanx arrangement for the maniples. **distinctior**: "less compact." **partienti**: see on *intuenti*, 17. 3. **esset**: iterative.

9. **victus**: = *si victus esset*. **Caudium**: cf. 9. 12. 4. **Cannae**: here

in opere quis par Romano miles? Quis ad tolerandum laborem melior? Uno proelio victus Alexander bello victus esset; Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae  
 10 non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies? Ne ille saepe, etiam si prima prospere evenissent, Persas et Indos et imbellem Asiam quaesisset, et cum feminis sibi bellum fuisse  
 11 dixisset, quod Epiri regem Alexandrum, mortifero vulnere ictum, dixisse ferunt, sortem bellorum in Asia gestorum ab hoc ipso iuvene cum sua conferentem. Equidem, cum per annos quattuor et viginti primo Punico bello classibus certatum cum Poenis recorder, vix aetatem  
 13 Alexandri suffecturam fuisse reor ad unum bellum; et forsitan, cum et foederibus vetustis iuncta res Punica Romanae esset, et timor par adversus communem hostem duas potentissimas armis virisque urbes armaret,  
 14 simul Punico Romanoque obrutus bello esset. Non quidem Alexandro duce nec integris Macedonum rebus, sed experti tamen sunt Romani Macedonem hostem adversus Antiochum, Philippum, Persen, non modo cum  
 15 clade ulla, sed ne cum periculo quidem suo. Absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant: numquam ab equite hoste, numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam aëquis, utique numquam nostris locis laboravimus;  
 16 equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos, avia commeatibus

was a most crushing defeat in the 2nd Punic war. The Roman losses were variously put at 50,000 to 70,000. Cf. 22. 50. 3.

10. **Ne**: "in truth."

11. **sua**: sc. *sorte in Italia*.

12. **classibus**: the 1st Punic war gave Rome supremacy on the Mediterranean. Cf. 21. 1. 5. **suffecturam fuisse**: *suffecisset* in dir. disc.

13. **armaret**: "must have armed them;" jussive subjunctive.

15. **Absit invidia verbo**: "let it be said without envy," i.e. the gods might be offended by boasts; but obvious exaggeration follows. **nostris**: "favorable." **laboravimus**: "have we suffered disaster;" = *victi sumus*.

16. **equitem, sagittas**: referring to the Parthians whose horsemen discharged showers of arrows upon the legionaries and then dashed away with "Parthian shots" behind them. **saltus impeditos**: cf. 2. 7.

17 loca, gravis armis miles timere potest; mille acies graves quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius, qua vivimus, pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae.

17. *huius . . . pacis*: the date of writing is probably after the closing of the temple of Janus in 25 B. C.; certainly before 20 B. C.,

since the return then of the standards captured by the Parthians is not cited in 18. 6. ff. *civilis*: genitive.



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